The Blue Book

of

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

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The Blue Book

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"But on one man's soul it hath broken,
A light that doth not depart;
And his look, or a word he hath spoken
Wrought flame in another man's heart."

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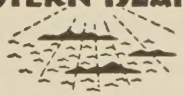
of

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

WESTERN ISLANDS



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Foreword to the Second Printing

December 9, 1959

Dear Reader:

The John Birch Society was founded at a meeting in Indianapolis, on December 9, 1958. Of the eleven men who had met me there on Monday morning, December 8, for the two-day session, one had come from Oregon, one from Kansas, one from Missouri, two from Wisconsin, one from Illinois, one from Indiana, one from Tennessee, one from Virginia, and two from Massachusetts.

These were all influential and very busy men. But they were also patriotic and public-spirited enough to have come to Indianapolis for the two full days, at my invitation, without knowing the reason for the meeting. For there was simply no way I could explain this reason in advance. With short breaks for coffee, for luncheons, and for brief discussions in between sections of the presentation, it required the two whole days to set forth the background, methods, and purposes of The John Birch Society. The pages that follow are simply a transcript, practically verbatim, of that presentation.

Quite a few of the details of the international situation, as outlined during the first hour and a half of that Monday, and hence as presented here, have changed—and grown far more disturbing—since then. Many of the specific plans which were projected during that Monday afternoon have already been put into operation. The Society so hopefully described on Tuesday morning, and so vigorously discussed throughout that Tuesday afternoon, has since taken solid form and begun to grow. As of this first anniversary date, it already has working chapters in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Virginia, South Carolina, Florida, Tennessee, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa,

Louisiana, Texas, California and Washington. It also has Home Chapter members in about forty states.

There would be advantages, of course, in making the minor changes at some points in this copy which would bring it strictly up to date. And obviously a repetition of the mere amenities of the occasion are by no means necessary to this report. But some details of the domestic and international picture, as caught by today's most careful pen, would again be out of date before these pages ever come from the printer. There is no instant at which the shutter may be snapped so that the print will remain true. And there may be some sentimental value, for many of us, in recording the original presentation exactly as it was given. So, with this much explanation, but without apology, we offer here the exact story listened to so patiently by the eleven men who—with this writer—brought The John Birch Society into existence.

Sincerely,

Robert Welch

Foreword to the Fourth Printing

February 22, 1961

Dear Reader:

The first few working chapters of The John Birch Society were formed in February, 1959, exactly two years ago. They have been a long two years.

During that period the whole world has moved, by what should be the measure of a century, further into an era of darkness, slavery, and terror. Our own country has suffered from as much turpitude and treason as would ordinarily require a generation to put together. And those of us trying to build up the strength and effectiveness of The John Birch Society, under the pressures that have prevailed, feel that we have lived through a decade on the brink of a breaking point.

Naturally we have faced extensive and malicious attacks from both the open and the disguised Left. Nothing more is required today to bring down on any man's head a torrent of smears from the liberal establishment than: (a) to deny the beauties of the welfare state; or (b) to seek to preserve the opportunities and responsibilities of the individual; or (c) to suspect the venality of any of the establishment's painstakingly manufactured but clay-footed gods, with their synthetic haloes. And we have done all three.

Also we have suffered from open opposition, "objective condemnation," and undercover punches by our allies of the Right. These too were to be expected—although we confess to surprise at the quarters from which a few of the attacks have come. Unquestionably some of the criticism has been due to sincere differences of opinion, as to ideology or as to methods. But our growing in just two years to a size and strength that many of these groups have been unable to attain in a decade, or in a lifetime, has produced

inevitable resentment. So we have been able unhesitatingly to ascribe most of the "confidential reports" and whispering campaigns against us, on the part of other conservatives, to nothing more serious than the normal jealousies and petty hypocrises of mankind.

We have taken them all in stride as well as we knew how. Certainly we have gone on supporting, to the best of our ability, every individual and every group that we have believed to be honestly opposing the collectivist advance, regardless of the obstacles that individual or group might be deliberately putting in the way of our own organizational efforts and our substantive activities. And we intend to continue to do so. Tackling one's own backfield does not seem to us to be a sensible way to win a ball game—or a war.

For *our* enemy is the Communists, and we do not intend to lose sight of that fact for a minute. We are fighting the Communists—*nobody else*. Being fully aware of the imminence and horror of the danger we face from that source, we have no intention of being distracted by the carping of our friends, or of those who *should be* our friends and we hope *will be* our friends in time. For if we do there is entirely too much likelihood—as we have already said elsewhere and many times—that in a few short years we shall all be hanging from the same lamp posts, while Communist terror reigns around us.

Our greatest problem, however, has been neither the lies of the Left nor the recriminations of the Right. It has been the difficulty of getting the ordinary patriotic American citizen to sit up and take an honest look at what is really happening. Contributing most to that difficulty are three factors which we have also identified and discussed on many earlier occasions. First is the apathy of the American people, induced by the incessant cackling of the Communist chorus: "There ain't nobody here but just us liberals." Second is the vested interest in error, now held by so many

millions of Americans. They have accepted and believed so much Communist propaganda in the past that they must now defend it as their own. Third is a circumstance which, unlike the other two, has not been created by the Communists themselves. But it has long been depended on by the Communists, and is still depended on by them, as one of the greatest forces working in their favor. This is the fact that the fundamentally decent American mind simply refuses to grasp the kind of enemy with which it now has to deal.

As you will see, The John Birch Society gets into this fight against the Communists through incidental necessity. Visibly, we must halt and rout these organized forces of evil—or help mightily to do so—before we can get on with our positive and constructive program. And it is difficult to discuss the future improvement of the landscape and gardens around a beautiful home while a vicious enemy is throwing incendiary bombs at the house.

But it is our total program, with all of its dreams and ideals and aspirations, for which we here seek your consideration, and ultimately your support. We are fully aware that this presentation in print of the background, methods, and purposes of The John Birch Society is not nearly so effective as when I can give it personally to a selected small group of leaders, in a full two-day meeting—as I have now done some twenty-eight times since the Society was founded. This Blue Book, however, will still serve to give any really interested person a clear understanding of what we are trying to do and how and why, in this huge undertaking for which we are now receiving so much help and encouragement.

Sincerely,

Robert Welch

Introduction

GENTLEMEN:

Let me welcome you to Indianapolis.

All of you, I believe, are already aware of my appreciation for your being here. I know the job it is to squeeze two whole days, plus travel time, out of your crowded schedules. For that reason I am all the more grateful to you for doing so. It was not a favor that was asked easily or is lightly appreciated. But each of you also felt that you would not have been asked to give up everything else and come to this meeting, and then to listen to my voice off and on for so much of the two days, unless I had some very serious matters to put before you and proposals to discuss.

Frankly, the matters are serious and the proposals far-reaching. So much so that just their presentation makes me feel solemnly humble at the size of the task envisioned. For increasingly, before tomorrow is over, I hope to have all of you feeling that you are taking part, here and now, in the beginning of a movement of historical importance.

But long journeys start with easy steps, and our first step should be to identify our fellow travelers (no pun intended). Many of you are known to each other, but some are not. So let me, as informally as possible, introduce each one to the group. [This was then done.]

Now I think that just a word is in order, concerning the sheer physical arrangements and prospects for the next two days. The possibility of just sitting in those chairs, listening to my monotonous voice go on and on until tomorrow evening, would frighten anybody. And while, with so much ground to cover, you are going to have to listen to me far more than I wish were the case, tiring you out or putting you to sleep is what I least want to do. So our hostess has arranged for coffee breaks in the mid-morning and in the

mid-afternoon. We shall recess at least an hour for luncheon, which will be set up for us at one o'clock in the breakfast room.

You will find that, while I shall be doing most of the talking, and doing it pretty continuously, in the beginning, there will be shifts in the subject matter and in our approaches to it which I hope will help some; and that increasingly, as I get the background covered and the general purport of the meeting begins to shape up, we'll interrupt my monologue for questions and open discussions. Until, by tomorrow afternoon, I hope and believe I'll be doing less talking than anybody else in the room.

Even that schedule, even with the breaks, is, I know, a rather severe prospect. But—nobody in this group was selected because he would be coming to the meeting for personal pleasure, and I am sure nobody has done so. The ultimate reason that brought each man here was a sense of patriotic duty, and deep concern for the future of his family and his country. So we do not offer pleasure, but we shall try to keep the carrying out of that duty, during these two days, from being any more painful than we can help.

II

Now, if I may coin a new word, I think that the perfunctions are over, and we can start getting down to the real business of the meeting. And the first business, it seems to me, is to take a sharper and somewhat longer look at why we are here. Our immediate and most urgent anxiety, of course, is the threat of the Communist conspiracy. And well it should be. For both internationally, and within the United States, the Communists are much further advanced and more deeply entrenched than is realized by even most of the serious students of the danger among the anti-Communists.

I personally have been studying the problem increasingly

for about nine years, and practically full time for the past three years. And entirely without pride, but in simple thankfulness, let me point out that a lifetime of business experience should have made it easier for me to see the falsity of the economic theories on which Communism is supposedly based, more readily, than might some scholar coming into that study from the academic cloisters; while a lifetime of interest in things academic, especially world history, should have given me an advantage over many businessmen, in more readily seeing the sophistries in dialectical materialism.

So I have felt, rightly or wrongly, that my grasp of Communist purposes, and even of their methods, should have been more rapid than that of some of my patriotic friends who have gradually become staunch anti-Communists. Yet almost every day I run into some whole new area, where the Communists have been penetrating and working quietly for years, until now they are in virtual control of everything that is done in that slice or corner of our national life.

One illustration came to light through the publication of *The Pentagon Case*, by Colonel Victor J. Fox, and through my getting to know its author, a retired navy officer whose real name is Bob Winston, fairly well since it was written.

The charges of treason within the Pentagon did not surprise me, nor enlighten me, at all. To anybody who had watched the way the administration moved heaven and earth to keep McCarthy from getting at the Army Loyalty Board, or from getting at the protectors within the Pentagon of the whole nest of traitors at Ft. Monmouth, it was clear that treason—and a willingness to close one's eyes to treason, which is itself treasonous—were widespread and rampant in our high army circles.

But what the book did reveal, of which I had had no knowledge before, was the huge and highly organized effort to wear down the morale of both our officers and our men in uniform, through the contents of the magazines which

are made most readily available for them to read. I was recently in a small audience where Bob Winston showed and went through the contents of some ten or twelve magazines, all purchased in routine manner right in the Pentagon itself—and available, of course, in our post exchanges all over the world. When you saw the pattern, it was astounding. Through this medium the Communists have been doing and are doing an incredible job of making service in our armed forces, especially if war should come, appear as a nightmare of cheapness and horror, instead of as an opportunity to fight honorably and victoriously for one's country. And it's no wonder that Ridgway and several other officers of the highest rank, who have not gone opportunistically blind over the situation, have been complaining about the extremely low morale in our armed forces today against that of a few years ago.

Other instances in every division or sub-division of our society, where the Communist achievement and activity is utterly unsuspected by the American people as a whole, could be compiled so that it would take hours just to list them. We are not going to undertake any such survey here. But as background for our further discussion I am going to ask for your patience while I make a much more general review with you of how far the international conspiracy as a whole has now gone, and where we stand today.

This part of my presentation is actually a speech, under the title of "Look at the Score," which in recent months I have been making to many different audiences. And I realize that for men as well informed as we have in this group, there will be much repetition of what you already know, and comparatively little that you do not know, in this survey. And yet, such a look at the score seems to me so important and so necessary, as a point of departure for our whole two-day program, that I hope you will all bear with me, and even give careful attention, while I cover the ground once more and try to draw the present battle lines on the world's ideological and political map.

Notice

Permit us to ask the reader once again to keep in mind, through all the pages which follow, that this presentation was prepared during October and November of 1958, and delivered in early December, 1958. And while we have not had any occasion to change a word of the copy, some of the references and statements are more readily understood if the date when they were made is remembered.

SECTION ONE

Look at the Score . . .

Throughout all history the bearer of bad news has been a most unpopular person. So I certainly am not seeking any garlands of popularity at present. For I am now spending my whole life spreading bad news, every day, everywhere I can.

But the man who is to me the most profound of all Americans, Ralph Waldo Emerson, once said that every mind must make its choice between truth and repose. It could not have both. Today you have left your choice somewhat in my hands. And I am not only bringing you truth instead of comfort, but truth which may shatter a lot of the comfort you already feel.

For the truth I bring you is simple, incontrovertible, and deadly. It is that, unless we can reverse forces which now seem inexorable in their movement, you have only a few more years before the country in which you live will become four separate provinces in a world-wide Communist dominion ruled by police-state methods from the Kremlin. The map for their division and administration is already drawn. We are living, in America today, in such a fool's paradise as the people of China lived in twenty years ago, as the people of Czechoslovakia lived in a dozen years ago, as the people of North Vietnam lived in five years ago, and as the people of Iraq lived in only yesterday.

To illustrate and support this statement I am going to ask you to look for a little while with me at some tedious and perhaps even painful history. For as George Santayana so brilliantly pointed out, those who will learn nothing from history are condemned to repeat it.

The Cold War in which we are engaged is certainly no game. It is a fatal struggle for freedom against slavery, for existence against destruction. But we can use the analogy of a game nevertheless. And I want to show you, right on the clear record about which there can be no reasonable argument, how far that game has progressed and what the score is today.

To do that, we must go back to 1917, when the contest started. In that year Lenin was able, with Trotsky and only a few hundred followers, to take the Russian revolution out of the hands of its earlier leaders, and to convert it into a Communist strike for power. In 1918 they established some degree of stability and recognition for their rule by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany. And by 1922 they had extended their infiltration, terror, and control enough to establish the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. They were able to bring into this USSR, besides the greatly reduced Russia proper left them at the time of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, the further areas of Russian Armenia, Azerbaidzhan, Georgia, Ukraine, and Byelorussia. And this combination was the base from which Lenin and his successors set out, deliberately and determinedly, to conquer the world.

Lenin died in 1924. But before he died he had laid down for his followers the strategy for this conquest. It was, we should readily admit, brilliant, farseeing, realistic, and majestically simple. It has been paraphrased and summarized as follows: "First, we will take eastern Europe. Next, the masses of Asia. Then we shall encircle that last bastion of capitalism, the United States of America. We shall not have to attack; it will fall like overripe fruit into our hands." To make doubly clear what he meant and how firmly he meant it, with regard to taking Asia ahead of Western Eu-

rope, and then using Asia as a stepping stone and base from which to conquer Western Europe and the rest of the world, the strategy was also stated that, for the Communists, the road to Paris led through Peking and Calcutta. Today you can easily see how that road to Paris is leading back from Peking through Calcutta, Cairo, Damascus, Baghdad, and Algiers.

Now, Gentlemen, there are many remarkable things about that three-step strategy. But the most remarkable is that the Communists have never wavered from it one iota in the thirty-five years since it was promulgated. Through famines which they deliberately caused in order to collectivize agriculture, through whatever industrialization they have achieved, through wars which they have cleverly and cold-bloodedly brought on and prolonged for the help of such wars in their plans, through periods of peace and prosperity elsewhere in the world, through power struggles within the Kremlin itself, through apparent changes and reversals in the Party line that make non-Communist heads swim in confusion, through every upheaval and opportunity, the Communists have always kept their eyes unwaveringly on this strategy and on plans to carry it out.

They have let nothing stand in their way, and nothing divert them. They have used the philosophy of socialism as an ideological weapon, in this struggle, whenever they could and for whatever it was worth. But it was only one of their many weapons. They have also used bribery, lies, bluff, brutality, the countless tentacles of treason, murder on a scale never before dreamed of in the world, and every possible means to advance them on this road, without the slightest concern for any moral difference in those various means. And above all, they have used patience. *A patient gradualism has been the most important key to the Communists' overwhelming success.*

II

The first great break for the Communist conspiracy came in 1933, with our formal recognition of Stalin's regime. At that time the Russian government was staying alive financially from week to week by methods which, in the case of individuals, would be called check-kiting. Our recognition tremendously increased their prestige and credit, at home and with other nations. It saved them from financial collapse; and it enabled them greatly to increase their nests of spies and propaganda agents in this country and elsewhere in the world.

Their second break came with the beginning of World War II, which was largely brought on through the world-wide diplomatic conniving of Stalin's agents, for the advantage of making Russia a wartime ally of the Western nations, and for the sake of the chaos and resulting opportunities the war would provide. And anybody who doubts that statement hardly needs to study anything more than the incredible ramifications and accomplishments of just the Sorge spy ring to discover its truth.

With the war once under way, Stalin was able, through the influence of his agents in foreign countries—including our own—to keep the eyes and the anger of the civilized world focussed on the crimes of Hitler, while he himself was perpetrating conquest and crime, continuously and successfully, that far outdid even Hitler's dreams. But in this progress Stalin always kept his aim exactly on the goals set forth by Lenin. And the tallies of his advance now begin to flash on the scoreboard thick and fast.

In August, 1939, as a result of his temporary compact with Hitler, Stalin seized all of eastern Poland. During that same year and in 1940, through brutal conquest by force of arms—which his agents in Western countries were able to get the Western nations completely to ignore—he took over the Karelian Isthmus of Finland, and swallowed up all of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

It is true that most of these conquests were temporarily taken out of his hands by the Germans, during the World War that immediately followed; but they reverted to him as the Germans were driven back in 1944. And although the war had supposedly been fought—in the beginning, anyway —over the territorial integrity of Poland and other small nations, the Communist influence among the Western allies was so great that as early as the Teheran Conference in 1943 it was made clear that, when the fighting was over, Stalin was going to be allowed to keep everything he had stolen.

He was. And a new series of conquests started immediately. The formal flaunting to the world of these conquests occurred as follows. In January, 1946, Stalin's henchmen proclaimed their "People's Republic" in Albania. During the course of 1946 they established themselves as the government of Hungary, with brutal execution of Hungarian patriots who had resisted the Germans and now resisted the Russians. In July, 1946, Stalin's hatchet man, Tito, completed his crushing grasp of Yugoslavia by the public shooting of Mihailovich. In November, 1946, Stalin's agents took over Romania and Bulgaria. In January, 1947, the mock elections in Poland formally completed the two years of incredibly cruel subjugation of that nation to Stalin's "Lublin Gang." In February, 1948, Stalin's lieutenants in Czechoslovakia pulled their *coup d'état* and formally placed that country behind the Iron Curtain. And in October, 1950, Stalin's lackeys formalized their puppet state of East Germany.

By this time, of course, there were other take-overs going on in other parts of the world, as we shall see. But we are dealing here only with Europe. And East Germany finished the job there, as it had been planned by Lenin, twenty-six years before. *The Communists now had eastern Europe entire, and the first step of their three-step program was complete.*

III

Next was Asia. And there is one thing, among many, for which you have to give the Communists credit. While they are working on a particular task, and no matter how difficult it may be, they never cease looking ahead or preparing for the tasks that are to follow. Although they were fully adjusted to the importance of taking eastern Europe first, nevertheless they began their infiltration and work in Asia, especially in China, almost before the blood of the 1917 revolution had grown cold in the streets of Moscow.

Of course we cannot take time here to go into the ruses, plans, deceptions, betrayals, and epic cruelties by which the Communists eventually were able to make their power increasingly felt in Asia. It took them a long time. Not until they had the full help of our government, completely misled by Communist influence, both during World War II and immediately after that war, were the Communists successful in Asia, on any sizable scale or in any formal manifestations. But these successes then came thick and fast. Here is their sequence.

V-J Day was August 15, 1945. Before even that month of August was over, Stalin's troops occupied all of Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands—thus pointing two guns permanently at Japan—by our specific permission. In October, 1945, Stalin's henchmen set up their "People's Republic" in Mongolia. In 1948, they set up their government in North Korea. In October, 1948, Stalin's troops took over Manchuria.

All of this time, with Moscow's help to Mao Tse-tung exerted primarily through its influence over our government, Mao and the Chinese Communists were crushing their opposition in more and more of China. For while Mao's hordes had been given by Moscow all of the tremendous stockpiles of Japanese arms in Manchuria, our government prevented

Chiang Kai-shek's troops from getting even ammunition for the guns they did have, by an embargo declared by General George Marshall. Marshall even boasted that he had disarmed thirty-nine of Chiang's divisions with a stroke of his pen—which he had. And so, by 1950, Stalin's agents had completed their conquest of the whole mainland of China.

In May, 1951, Moscow's invaders seized Tibet. In the summer of 1953 Moscow's agents imposed on us, in Korea, a truce so shameful, in both the procedures of the negotiations as well as the substance of the truce, as to be incredible in the light of past American history. One result was to strengthen the Kremlin's grasp and use of North Korea. In the summer of 1954 Ho chi Minh and Chou En-lai and other tools of the Kremlin took over the better half of Indochina. That completes the coverage of all those parts of Asia which are formal satellites today. How much further the blackout would have extended by now, but for a change in the Kremlin's method of establishing its control, there is no way of telling. But that brings us to another part of the story.

For by this time Stalin was dead, Malenkov and his associates or subordinates had made clear that the Kremlin was in just as firm control of world-wide Communism as ever Stalin had been; and the whole conspiratorial apparatus was rapidly marching forward towards ultimate total victory. So rapidly, in fact, and so visibly, that a different kind of problem now loomed ever larger before them. That was the problem of keeping the remaining free world—*and especially the American people*—from becoming aware of how fast and how surely the Communists were taking over the rest of the planet.

For this, and other highly advantageous reasons, the new regime in the Kremlin called a halt to the establishment of formal satellites, and began to extend its power through so-called neutralist countries. These neutralist

nations pose as independent, but the governments are, in one way or another, largely controlled by Moscow. The difference between these dependencies, and true satellites such as Czechoslovakia or East Germany—or Yugoslavia—is more one of form, for the sake of expediency, than it is one of degree. For in either case the people may be bitterly opposed to Communism.

Friends sometimes ask me how on earth I can speak of Indonesia now being within the Communist block, when eighty percent of the Indonesians are devout Moslems, who hate Communism with every fibre of their being. But eighty percent of the people of Poland are devout Catholics, who also hate Communism with every beat of their hearts. And nobody will deny the Communist status of Poland. Of course the people in Indonesia hate Communism, but so do those in East Germany. And those in Indonesia are being held in line in support of Communist plans, and gradually brought under a Communist police-state rule, despite their futile and sometimes suicidal opposition, just as surely as were the people of Poland or of Hungary before them.

Now I know that plenty of writers, commentators, and officials will tell you that Nehru is not a Communist but a "dynamic neutralist," and that Nasser is not a Communist but an "Arab nationalist." But the bellwethers of all such opinion molders are, by and large, the same people who insisted twenty years ago that Mao Tse-tung was not a Communist but an "agrarian reformer," and five years ago that Achmed Sukarno was not a Communist but was the George Washington of Indonesia. The widespread acceptance of any of these views is, in my opinion, merely more proof of the success of Communist propaganda. For if you will study the life and actions of each man, carefully and objectively, you will find that the evidence in support of his being a tool of the Kremlin becomes quite overwhelming.

And those dependencies in Asia where the rulership

already belongs *de facto,* in whole or in large part, to Moscow, are Indonesia, Burma, India, Ceylon, Afghanistan, Syria, probably *South Vietnam,* and now Iraq and Lebanon. Actually, the anti-Communist position is crumbling rapidly, everywhere in Asia.[1] But let's consider just those countries we have named. When these are added to the actual satellites—China, North Korea, North Vietnam, and all of Russia in Asia—and if you will look at a map of Asia with all of these countries properly shaded, I think you will agree with me in my estimate of the Communists' progress. It is that they have already gone three-fourths of the way towards the completion of the second step in their three-part program.

IV

Now, let's consider the rest of the world. And again we find that the Communists, while working hard at the immediate task of getting control of the masses of Asia, and of making Fortress Asia the stepping stone for *conquering* the rest of the world, have also been looking ahead and doing everything possible—everything that was also strategically wise—to make their final undertaking both easier and more certain of success.

It is interesting, for instance, and also frightening, to note how far the Communists have already gone in their encirclement of Western Europe—although their movement back across Asia, from Peking towards Paris, has only recently reached the Mediterranean. Their treatment of northern Africa as geographically and ethnically an extension, for their purposes, of the Asian mass and masses, is only a part of the story.

As you will see, again by marking up a map, this encirclement of Western Europe begins with Russia itself and its immediate satellites on the north and east. Then as you move around the Asiatic side of the Mediterranean you

have Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, in all of which the Communists either aready have control, however disguised, or are rapidly acquiring control. Jumping across Spain and the British Isles, to the northwest there is Iceland. Then, completing the circle, Norway, and now Finland. And, Gentlemen, any idea that Norway is not, for all practical purposes, now in Communist hands, or that Iceland and Finland are not completely so, is in my opinion as unrealistic as the thought that Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana is a Democrat.

This doesn't mean that the Communists intend to have troops march in from this periphery and take Western Europe by force. They don't have to. It does mean that the pressures and threats they can exert on the chancelleries of Western Europe from this encirclement; the aid they can give to their agents in the governments and national activities of every kind in Western Europe; and the weakening of the remaining anti-Communist strength in Western Europe through this encirclement without, added to infiltration within—that this overall Communist progress has made the position of Western Europe very precarious indeed. It certainly makes plausible the contention of one of our best-informed writers for our magazine, himself a European, that the Communists will be able to take Western Europe by telephone within the next two or three more years if they consider it strategically wise to do so.[2]

Coming to the Western Hemisphere, you now have Dr. Jagan, an avowed Communist, ruling British Guiana. If any real anti-Communist were elected president of Panama, he would undoubtedly be assassinated, as Ramon was some four years ago. Incidentally, assassination of heads of state is now becoming quite a normal and regular part of the technique of Communist advance in Latin America. Within the past few years there have been assassinations of Ramon of Panama, President Somoza of Nicaragua, President Castillo Armas of Guatemala—and before that of Colonel

Aranda of Guatemala, presidential candidate who had been murdered in Mexico to enable Arbenz Guzman to take over.

The Communists are now in complete control of Bolivia and Venezuela. They expect to have Guatemala back in the Communist camp in short order. And Romulo Betancourt of Venezuela, who *says* he is not a Communist but has admitted he was a Marxist, and who has spent his whole career in helping the Communists, seems to be taking the lead in plots and plans to overthrow the very few remaining really anti-Communist governments in Latin America.[3] They are Cuba, Paraguay, Nicaragua, and the Dominican Republic.[4] Right now he is giving powerful help—probably the most powerful, next to that of our government—towards the overthrow of Batista in Cuba by the Communist, Fidel Castro, and the establishment of a Communist beachhead ninety miles from our shores. And, Gentlemen, if you have any slightest doubt that Castro is a Communist, don't. If he is successful, time will clearly reveal that he is an agent of the Kremlin.

On the other side of the hemisphere we have Hawaii. And for the truth about the present Communist control of the Hawaiian Islands, just ask any member, Republican or Democrat, of the Senate Subcommittee which spent considerable time on the Islands, investigating the situation, in the fall of 1956. Or ask any member of the leading families there—the Cookes, Bishops, Judds, Castles, or others whom you may happen to know.

Five years ago these people were all for Hawaiian statehood. For the last two years many of them have been vigorously opposing Hawaiian statehood, for the near future, by every means at their disposal. For they have feared that Hawaii, as a state, would send two Communists or pro-Communists, picked by Harry Bridges, to the United States Senate, and that the whole state government would be Communist controlled. As any of the leading citizens will tell you, and as the Senate Subcommittee stated in plain

language, the Communist stranglehold on the economic life of Hawaii is now so great that it constitutes virtual political control as well.

When you then finally come to the extent of Communist infiltration and influence right inside our own continental borders, the subject is entirely too large for us to do more than indicate a few pointers. But, for a first danger sign, the unions which control our shipping and many vital parts of our economy are Communist-ruled or Communist-dominated. Just for one instance, seventy-five vital links in the most secret communications of our government itself, including those of the Pentagon to air force bases in New York, Maine, England, Canada, and Newfoundland, are all available to the members of one union, the American Communications Association, which was kicked out of the CIO in 1950 as being too Communist even for that outfit. In May, 1957, the president of this union and five other officials and members invoked the Fifth Amendment when questioned about Communist Party membership. Yet the members of this union are still in position to put their hands on any and all messages over these seventy-five links in our government's own communications system.

Now the real significance of what I have just said lies in the fact that this door of betrayal is known to be wide open, and nobody—in Congress, in the executive branch, in the Pentagon itself—nobody even dares to try to close it. That is one indication of how powerful the Communist influence has now become in almost all of our federal agencies. A twenty-five-year career man in our State Department resigned three years ago, to tell the American people in his book, *Inside the State Department,* of the treasonous falsification of information concerning our foreign affairs which is going on there all of the time. And the Communist influence over our mass media of communication—press, radio, television—is so great that you probably never even heard of his book.

Friends sometimes say to me: "Look. Even in easy-going America there must still be a few Arnold von Winkelrieds left; men who are willing to gather all of the enemy's spears they can reach into their own bodies, so that their compatriots can break through the hostile phalanx. If things are as bad in our government as you say they are, you'd think there would be *some* patriot inside who would be willing to give up his career, sacrifice everything if need be, and tell the American people the truth."

The answer is, of course, that there are many men who do this, one after another. Arthur Bliss Lane, one of our greatest, most experienced, and most honored diplomats, resigned from the service in order to write *I Saw Poland Betrayed*. This was no secondhand story, told by some hack journalist dealing in sensationalism. This was the factual recital by an American ambassador, giving out of his own personal knowledge the names, dates, places, and events of the deliberate and treasonous betrayal of Poland, by our government, into Soviet hands. These were things he had seen with his own eyes, and events in which he had been forced to acquiesce, while actually serving as our ambassador to the very country being betrayed. His book, for which he gave up so much, should have shocked the American people into a fury of resentment against the Acheson-infested State Department and the whole Truman administration. But it didn't create even a ripple. It sold a few thousand copies. Then no more were available. For reasons never made entirely clear, the publishers declined to bring out a new edition. Most of the copies which had gone to libraries were gradually removed by Communists or Communist sympathizers and became "lost." If you want an interesting exercise today, just see how long it will take any of the best secondhand book dealers in America to find you a copy, and at what cost.

Dr. Medford Evans was the chief of security training for our whole Atomic Energy Commission and all of its

plants. It was by far the best job he had ever had. In due course he discovered how blatant and widespread were the treasonous activities throughout the whole operation. In another while he discovered how easily and successfully all efforts on his part to improve security measures were ignored or circumvented by the traitors. With a family to support, and no money, Dr. Evans gave up his job in order to tell the American people the truth in his book, *The Secret War for the A-Bomb*. He made clear that, despite the A-bombs which the Soviets had been exploding for show-off purposes, and to increase their prestige and diplomatic pressures, they had not yet *built* one. Their agents had simply walked off from our plants with the necessary separate parts, which had then been assembled in Russia, and exploded whenever it best suited the Soviets' pretenses.

Here again we had an able and respected American writing, at great cost to himself, of things he knew from his own personal observation, contacts, and experience. The book dealt with a matter of literally vital importance to the safety of our country. It told of treason at work beyond any conception of the American people. It should have rocked the nation from one end to the other. Instead, it sold twenty-six hundred copies! There is no clearer proof of the effectiveness of the blanket of obfuscation, with which Communist influences have been able to keep the truth about their activities from being known.

But to go on with other pointers! The best informed authorities say that there are at least thirty huge Communist espionage rings operating in this country today against the only two or three that have been only partly exposed. Not only has all really effective exposure of these espionage rings and agents now been stopped, but scores of known Communist-sympathizers have been restored, by Supreme Court rulings, to their former jobs within our federal government. Communist sympathies and even actual Communist subversion are daily made more respectable by

the actions of our government, our great universities, much of our press, and by the complacency of our people. And I could go on with specific factual illustrations and instances of this spreading, deepening Communist influence for hours —as I do in other speeches—if this were the occasion. It is not. So let me come to the point, which is an appraisal of the Communists' progress towards the completion of their third step. Before doing so, however, I should like to make clear in my own defense that my credentials for the task are not based simply on my association with other anti-Communists. It's true that I have been to Formosa, and talked with Chiang Kai-shek and to practically every high official in the Chinese Nationalist government—with some of them at considerable length. I have been to West Germany, and talked with Chancellor Adenauer. I have been in personal association or voluminous correspondence with many if not most of the leading anti-Communists in this country and throughout the world. And I have diligently studied the anti-Communist books and objective histories which reveal piecemeal the horrifying truth of the past two decades.

None of that, however, constitutes the best support of my right to express the opinion I am going to give you. That right comes primarily from a study of the Communists' own periodicals and current literature. I read the *Daily Worker* faithfully until they suspended its publication. I now read their best known weekly in America, the *National Guardian,* far more regularly than I ever read the *Saturday Evening Post.* I subscribe to, and keep up fairly well with, their monthlies, *Political Affairs* and the *New World Review.* I take three or four Communist publications from other countries, and friends are constantly sending me tear-sheets and articles out of others, from all over the world. And it is in the Communists' own publications that you not only read their lies, and find the full measure of their malice and their nastiness. That is where you also learn what they

consider important, in all they have done in the past or expect to do in the future. They lay out the line for their own people, confident of sufficient control over all mass media of communication in America to ensure that that line reaches the American people—including the great mass of newspaper readers—only in such parts, in such ways, and *at such times*, as the Communist Party desires. And it is to this presentation by the Communists themselves, especially in their periodicals, that the serious student of the conspiracy goes to learn of their progress and their plans.

It is with the benefit of this realistic background, therefore, that I venture to offer the following opinion. It is certainly an honest opinion, concurred in by all of the well informed anti-Communists I know. It is that the Communists, through long and careful and insidious preparation, have already gone at least one-fourth[5] of the way towards the accomplishment of their third and final step—which is taking over this country. And with it, of course, the rest of the world.

The simple arithmetic of the situation, therefore, is as follows. Call each of the three steps one, and their total three. The Communists have accomplished all of the first step (eastern Europe), plus three-fourths of the second (the masses of Asia), plus one-fourth of the third. One plus three-fourths plus one-fourth adds up to two out of that total of three; and not to believe that the Communists are already two-thirds of the way towards carrying out their total program, or that they are not now moving at an accelerated pace and with increased momentum to finish the job, is to close your eyes to the plain facts as surely as did the good people of Czechoslovakia in 1948—and with the same ultimately fatal results.

V

Now let's just look very briefly at a different kind of scoreboard measuring the same Communist advance. At the last

get-together of international Communism, before World War II, the Communist Parties represented had a total membership figure of slightly more than four million members. But in November, 1957, at the triumphant meeting in Moscow to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the success of the Bolshevik revolution, seventy-five Communist Parties could be officially counted, with a total membership of thirty-three million. This is approximately an *eight hundred percent increase* in the twenty years; and that is just about the rate of growth of Communist power throughout the world in that time, no matter how you look at it.

Or let's study quickly still one more and final scoreboard, perhaps the most revealing and frightening of them all. Here it is.

Since August, 1945, the Communists have averaged taking over seven thousand newly enslaved subjects every hour. And please remember that these people, whether in Indonesia or Iraq or Korea, have the same love for their families, think of concentration camps with the same despairing horror, and feel the same pain under torture, as do you and I.

So let me repeat that. Seven thousand more human beings, just like you and me, have been brought under the incredibly brutal rule of a Communist police state, *every hour*, twenty-four hours of every day, 365 days of every year, for the past thirteen years. And not only is that process not being interrupted in any way. Today the rate of conquest and enslavement is actually increasing—as the eighty million people of Indonesia would gladly testify. For the darkness of police-state rule is closing over them very fast.

Now please note, Gentlemen, that the Communists have never made any of this immense progress by the direct use of force. They have beguiled Chinese into fighting Chinese, Koreans into fighting Koreans, Vietnamese into fighting the French and each other, the Israelis, British, and French into

fighting Egyptians, and the Algerians into fighting the French. They have even maneuvered Americans into fighting Chinese Communists in Korea, with the Americans' hands tied behind their backs. But not one Russian regiment has ever taken part in any of this imperialistic advance, except in the suppression of rebellion in already conquered territory, as in Hungary. The Communists have put over these tremendous gains by bluff and bluster, lies and deception, murder, and—above all—by treason within other governments; and by diplomatic pressures based on all of these other means. And that lamp of experience certainly should guide us as to what they are up to today.

There are three possible methods by which the Communists might take us over. One would be, through a sufficient amount of infiltration and propaganda, to disguise Communism as just another political party; and thus to get enough Communist agents and sympathizers into positions of power in our government to enable them to seize formal power by a peaceful *coup d'état,* as they did in Czechoslovakia in February, 1948. We do not anticipate that development.

The second method would be by fomenting internal civil war in this country, and aiding the Communist side in that war with all necessary military might. This is, of course, the method they used in China. But in the long struggle in China the Kremlin was handicapped by the need for keeping its own intervention from being accurately understood and appraised by other nations. By the time the Soviet rulers ever came to apply this plan to our country, there obviously would be no compelling reason for them to hold back in any way.

And it seems clear, from all of their past history, as well as from the nature of the beast, that—despite their vaunted missiles and bombs—the Soviets would not attempt military conquest of so powerful and so extensive a country as the United States without availing themselves of a sufficiently

strong fifth column in our midst; a fifth column which could provide the sabotage, the false leadership, and the sudden seizures of power and of means of communication, needed to convert the struggle, from the very beginning, into a civil war rather than clear-cut war with an external enemy. The horror and cruelty which would be made possible by such planned confusion is something to contemplate. And, as we said in the first issue of our magazine, *American Opinion*, we can foresee a possibility of the Kremlin taking this gamble in time.

In fact, it is clear that the Communists long ago made plans to have this method available, in whole or in part, to whatever extent it might be useful. The trouble in our southern states has been fomented almost entirely by the Communists for this purpose. It has been their plan, gradually carried out over a long period with meticulous cunning, to stir up such bitterness between whites and blacks in the South that small flames of civil disorder would inevitably result. They could then fan and coalesce these little flames into one great conflagration of civil war, in time, if the need arose. The whole slogan of "civil rights," as used to make trouble in the South today, is an exact parallel to the slogan of "agrarian reform" which they used in China. And the Communists, who are pulling innocent and idealistic Americans into promoting this agitation for them, have no more real interest in the welfare of the Negroes and no more concern about the damage they actually do to our colored population, than the Chinese Communists had with regard to the welfare of the Chinese peasants.

But there is a third method which is far more in accordance with Lenin's long-range strategy. It is one which they are clearly relying on most heavily. And this is taking us over by a process so gradual and insidious that Soviet rule is slipped over so far on the American people, before they ever realize it is happening, that they can no longer resist the Communist conspiracy as free citizens, but can resist

the Communist tyranny only by themselves becoming conspirators against established government. The process in that direction is going on right now, gradually but surely and with ever-increasing spread and speed.

A part of that plan, of course, is to induce the gradual surrender of American sovereignty, piece by piece and step by step, to various international organizations—of which the United Nations is the outstanding but far from the only example—while the Communists are simultaneously and equally gradually getting complete working control of such organizations. Both sets of steps, which were short and insidious at first, are now being steadily increased in both length and brazenness. Until one day we shall gradually realize that we are already just a part of a world-wide government ruled by the Kremlin, with the police-state features of that government rapidly closing in on ourselves.

But another part of that plan is the conversion of the United States into a socialist nation, quite similar to Russia itself in its economy and political outlook, before police-state enforcement is ever introduced. The best way to explain the aim here is simply to quote the directive under which some of the very largest American foundations have been secretly but visibly working for years. This directive is "so to change the economic and political structure of the United States that it can be comfortably merged with Soviet Russia."

These foundations, influential as they are, nevertheless are comparatively just a very small part of the tremendous forces at work in America today to accomplish this aim. And these total forces, marvelously organized and brilliantly directed, use a hundred to a thousand completely misguided Americans who are not Communists, for every actual Communist who is pulling strings behind the scenes, to help them to put over their innocent- and even "progressive"-sounding plans.

For the West, Gentlemen, is suffering under many de-

lusions. One is that our enemy is an ideology. It is not. Communism is not a political party, nor a military organization, nor an ideological crusade, nor a rebirth of Russian imperialist ambition, though it comprises and uses all of these parts and pretenses. Communism, in its unmistakable present reality, is wholly a conspiracy, a gigantic conspiracy to enslave mankind; an increasingly successful conspiracy controlled by determined, cunning, and utterly ruthless gangsters, willing to use any means to achieve its end.

One means, of course, is to make socialism sound appealing; and above all to make it seem *inevitable.* This operation, of giving an appearance of spontaneity to a movement to the left which is conspiratorially plotted and promoted, is so large that we could not possibly outline it here. Let's merely look at one of the more spectacular means the Communists designed for this promotion—namely Sputnik—and let you project the whole wheel from that one spoke.

VI

I can't tell you how large a part of their military budget the Russians put into a crash program to get a Sputnik into the sky—after goodness knows how many failures—by October, 1957. I can't tell you how Communist influences succeeded in arranging for reports of the Gaither Committee and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund Study Group—both made up mostly of entirely loyal Americans—to come out with such beautiful timing and terrifying hints to reinforce the impact of Sputnik on the American consciousness. But I can tell you exactly what the Kremlin has expected to accomplish by all of this concerted ballyhoo.

For years we have been taken steadily down the road to Communism by steps supposedly designed, and presented to the American people, as ways of *fighting* Communism. The whole foreign aid program is an excellent example. Our foreign aid has done some good, of course. The Communists

do not believe in using solid black instrumentalities, but dark gray ones. They are always willing to be hurt, or to take a loss, for the sake of an ultimate net gain in any transaction. And American foreign aid, from the time it began as a contribution of some seventy-two percent of UNRRA funds, until it has reached the mammoth proportions of today, has been a tremendous help to the advance of Communism. It was planned by the Communists for that purpose. This pouring of American billions into foreign countries, to make things easier for the Communists and their socialist allies or agents, is exactly what the Communists wanted the American government to do. But they have not taken over so much of the world, so largely by cunning, without that cunning being brilliant, and professional. The one surest way in which foreign aid could be ballyhooed successfully, and made permanently acceptable to the American taxpayer, was to present it as a means of opposing Communism.

Now we see exactly the same principle at work on the whole front of our domestic economy. Although our danger remains almost entirely internal, from Communist influences right in our midst and treason right in our government, the American people are being persuaded that our danger is from the outside, is from Russian military superiority.[6] And under the excuse of preparing to match that military might, of defending ourselves from this threat of outside force; in other words, under the guise of fighting Communism, we are being stampeded into the biggest jump ever towards, and perhaps the final jump right into, socialism and then the Communist camp.

Of course Sputnik did many things for the Soviets. It gave them, no matter how undeserved, a whole new level of prestige in the scientific world. It put very valuable ammunition into the hands of the world-wide Communist-sponsored groups, which in the United States were called Committees for a Sane Nuclear Policy, and into the hands

of all of the Cyrus Eatons and Bertrand Russells and other "let's surrender" boys. And it indirectly enabled the pro-Communists in the chancelleries of Western Europe to increase their pressures on Adenauer in many ways.

But we are talking at this point about the usefulness of Sputnik to the Communists and their socialist allies, through its impact on the psychology of the American people with regard to their domestic affairs. This, in my opinion, was the most important ultimate effect of Sputnik, as planned by the Soviets, and as now gradually being realized by them. Here are the Communists' aims for the United States—to be achieved, they hope, through the leftward momentum of the attitude induced by Sputnik and all of its auxiliary propaganda. (1) Greatly expanded government spending, for missiles, for so-called defense generally, for foreign aid, for every conceivable means of getting rid of ever larger sums of American money—as wastefully as possible. (2) Higher and then much higher taxes. (3) An increasingly unbalanced budget, despite the higher taxes. When these notes were first put together many months ago, I expected a deficit of ten billion dollars at least, in the fiscal year of 1958–1959, despite all of the talk at that time about a balanced budget. Today well-informed people, even within our government, are talking about a deficit of fifteen billion. (4) Wild inflation of our currency, leading rapidly towards its ultimate repudiation. (5) Government controls of prices, wages, and materials, supposedly to combat inflation. (6) Greatly increased socialistic controls over every operation of our economy and every activity of our daily lives. This is to be accompanied, naturally and automatically, by a correspondingly huge increase in the size of our bureaucracy, and in both the cost and reach of our domestic government. (7) Far more centralization of power in Washington, and the practical elimination of our state lines. There is a many-faceted drive at work to have our state lines eventually mean no more within the nation than our

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county lines do now within the states. (8) The steady advance of federal aid to and control over our educational system, leading to complete federalization of our public education. (9) A constant hammering into the American consciousness of the horror of "modern warfare," the beauties and the absolute necessity of "peace"—peace always on Communist terms, of course. And (10) the consequent willingness of the American people to allow the steps of appeasement by our government which amount to a piecemeal surrender of the rest of the free world and of the United States itself to the Kremlin-ruled tyranny.

There is what Sputnik and all of its side decorations are really about. If the Communists can succeed in making us domestically a communized nation, it will not be too difficult a final move for them to pull us right into the world-wide Communist organization, ruled by the Kremlin. And unless we can have enough of an awakening in this country, and enough of a rebellion against the appeasement policies of our government outside and its communizing policies inside America, the Communists are going to succeed in accomplishing every one of these means to their final end, and that final goal as well.

VII

In summary, Gentlemen, we are losing, rapidly losing, a cold war in which our freedom, our country, and our very existence are at stake. And while *we* don't seem to know we are losing this war, you can be sure the Communists do. There is just one thing—only one thing in the whole world—which the Communists fear today. It is that, despite their tremendous influence in our government and over all of our means of mass communication, the American people will wake up too soon to what has really been happening, and what is now happening right under their very noses.

The only thing which can possibly stop the Communists

is for the American people to learn the truth in time. It is to contribute my small bit to such an awakening that I have given up most of my business responsibilities and most of my income, in order through my magazine and speeches to bring some inkling of the truth to as many people as I can reach. I do not expect nor deserve any slightest applause or sympathy for this sacrifice. I mention it at all for just one reason only—which is to show how deadly serious the situation appears to me.

You may think I am an alarmist. Frankly I am. For in my opinion, based on many years of intensive study of the methods, the progress, and the menace of the Communist conspiracy, there is ample reason for extreme alarm; and I hope to make *you* alarmists too. It seems to me that all you need, to cause you to share my alarm, my fears, and my determination, is simply to get a map of the world and *Look at the Score*! And the first thing for you to do, as a newly awakened alarmist, is to become better informed about many things that we cannot cover here.

One matter on which most Americans need to become better informed is what being subjugated by the Communists, or "arriving at an accommodation with Communism" as they want it called, would really mean. For their cruelty and terrorism is almost beyond imagination; and the domination of our press, television and radio by Communist influences is now so great that you simply are not allowed to learn or be reminded of the real nature of the beasts to whom we are losing.

General Mark Clark, for instance, officially reported from Korea: "We obtained solid evidence that the Communists slaughtered 11,622 members of my UN Command while they were defenseless prisoners of war. These men were tied to their fellow prisoners and transported to previously selected sites. They were dumped *alive* into trenches dug for the purpose and summarily shot." About five thousand of those boys were from your home towns and mine. But

how many of you ever saw that report in your headlines, or anywhere else?

During the so-called Spanish Civil War, the London *Times* (which then as now certainly was not slanted in favor of the anti-Communists) reported that in one twelve-months period the Communists had murdered over four thousand priests in cold blood; and had driven more than that many nuns out into the streets of various Spanish cities, inflicted horrible obscenities on them, and then murdered the nuns. In some places the Communists herded priests and their congregations into churches, set the churches on fire, and burned the Christians and their buildings together. These and similar epic cruelties of the period are facts documented beyond all question, but how many of you have ever heard them?

The man right now, today, holding the highest theoretical honor and office in the Soviet Union is Klimenti Voroshilov, chairman of the Presidium and generally accorded the exalted if non-existent title of "president" of the Soviet Union. When eleven thousand Czarist officers, with their wives and children, surrendered the city of Kiev on the solemn promise—a promise advanced to them by Voroshilov to induce this surrender—that they would be allowed to disperse and go to their homes, Voroshilov had all of the men and boys shot at once, and put the women and girls into brothels for his army. Far from ever repenting of this supreme piece of barbarism, fifteen years later Voroshilov boasted of it to American Ambassador William C. Bullitt, as one of the glorious highlights of his career; and he explained that, with regard to using the women for his "army's health," instead of shooting them, it didn't really matter because they were all dead within three months anyway.

The record of Nikita Khrushchev is infinitely worse. Mass murders totaling some twelve million victims can be charged directly to his orders. Bulganin, Menshikov, and

the others are exactly the same. I could go on with specific and horrible illustrations, literally for hours. Nor has there been any slightest change in Communist methods or terrorism. Right now the Algerian Communist rebels, called the FLN, are perpetrating massive and incredible cruelties on their fellow Moslems in Algeria, in order to terrorize those natives into appearing to support this Communist-led guerilla insurrection and making it look like a civil war—exactly as the Chinese Communists were performing mass tortures on the Chinese peasants for the same purpose a quarter of a century ago. Right now Sukarno's Communist goons, known as the SOBSI, are murdering in cold blood the Christianized natives of the Moluccan Islands just as ruthlessly as Stalin's troops murdered native Spaniards in 1935. Right now a Communist named Fidel Castro is trying to frighten off all opposition to himself in Cuba, by murders, burnings, and brutalities as cruel as any that the Russian Communists imposed on eastern Poland in 1940—or on East Germany in 1945. And exactly the same thing is going on in many other parts of the world.

All of this vicious and purposeful savagery I have been trying so inadequately even to indicate is not something happening on some other and far-off planet, or perpetrated by the Assyrians twenty-five hundred years ago, or dreamed up as the imaginative nightmare of an Edgar Allan Poe. These, Gentlemen, are the very real acts and deliberate policies, of the recent past and the very present, of people whom we treat as human beings, and with whom we sit around conference tables and arrive at truce terms and concessions to appease them.

There are some seven hundred million non-Russian non-Communists now living daily lives of virtual slavery behind the Iron Curtain, some forty million of them in the actual slave labor camps of Russia and Red China, who only a

dozen years ago, or much less, enjoyed practically the same personal freedoms as do you and I today. These people now say to each other, but above all to themselves: "If I had only known! If I had only believed! There is no amount of work and sacrifice and suffering I would not have given, if I had only realized the necessity, the danger, in time. Now it is too late, and any amount of struggle and of sacrifice, even of life itself, is all in vain."

The number of people subject to these cruelties is now increasing by tens of millions every year, and we are directly in the path of the conqueror. Are we really so hopelessly blind, so stupefied by "prosperity" on one side and insidious propaganda on the other, that we cannot even see the wolves devouring the carcasses of our brothers or drawing ever nearer to ourselves? Are we going to let our country and our whole civilization go under, and new "Dark Ages" of serfdom be ushered in, while we happily play at our little games? May God forbid; but may we speedily become more worthy that He should.

In fact I wish to end this grim argument today on quite a religious note. For whether you believe it or not, we are far along in a gathering crisis that is going to make us all search deeply into our beliefs, and into the values and loyalties that motivate our actions. This is a *world-wide* battle, the first in history, between light and darkness; between freedom and slavery; between the spirit of Christianity and the spirit of anti-Christ for the souls and bodies of men. Let's win that battle by alertness, by determination, by courage, by an energizing realization of the danger, if we can; but let's win it even with our lives, if the time comes when we must. Let's even keep in mind, against that time, an inspiration which we hope we shall not need. It comes from the end of a great and stirring hymn, written to inspire men to fight against a far less extensive slavery of their fellow men.

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born
across the sea,
With a glory in His bosom that transfigures
you and me:
As He died to make men holy, let us die to
make men free,
While God is marching on.

Footnotes for the Fourth Printing

1. In the two and one-half years since this paragraph was written, the situation in Asia has deteriorated immensely further. As witness what has happened and is now happening in South Korea, Laos, Cambodia, Singapore, Turkey, and Saudi Arabia; and note also the rapidly rising Communist influence in Japan and the Philippines.

2. In the same period Communist agents and influence have made tremendous gains in many other parts of Africa besides the northern ledge above the Sahara.

3. At the time this edition is going to press, Romulo Betancourt is still sweating through one of those periods (of such strategic importance in the career of every ambitious Communist who aspires to be the Kremlin's No. 1 Boy in his part of the world) of pretending not to be a Communist. And of course our State Department and the whole liberal press are treating this pretense with great seriousness, and helping to get it accepted by the American people. In Betancourt's case the claim is as completely and as nauseatingly phony as were similar claims—at the suitable stages of their careers—for Mao Tse-tung, Achmed Sukarno, and Fidel Castro. As the years ahead will make amply clear, Romulo Betancourt, despite his present deceptive maneuvers and propaganda, has been all of his adult life and still is one of the most trusted agents the Kremlin has ever had.

4. Since this paragraph was originally written Cuba has already fallen completely into Communist hands. And the combined pressures of Moscow, Washington, Fidel Castro, and Romulo Betancourt, constantly increase to overthrow Trujillo and make another Cuba of the Dominican Republic.

5. As of July 1, 1960, when the third annual scoreboard issue of *American Opinion* was published, our experts placed the total Communist influence over our national activities as now up to a minimum of *forty percent* of total control.

6. In spoken versions of this presentation we have many times interpolated here a recurrent theme from *American Opinion*. It is that the

Soviet threat of all-out war is one hundred percent bluff and bluster. There are several important reasons why no marching of our troops in Europe, no insult to Khrushchev, no hostile step we might take no matter how drastic, could possibly provoke the Soviets into an all-out "hot war" between East and West today. And one of these many reasons is worth looking at closely, and remembering at all times.

For while everybody recognizes the intensive and continuous use by the Soviets of the strategy of "divide and conquer," entirely too few of even the serious students of the conspiracy seem to be aware of its *sequitur*. But this next step becomes even more important to them as they subjugate an ever larger percentage of the world's population. It is the principle of "divide and keep conquered." This principle is vital to their survival.

A very large part of the total effort of the Kremlin tyrants is spent in building up their bluff of unassailable power—as in constantly demonstrating and re-advertising to the world how completely the United States government is on the friendliest terms with them, or is afraid of them, or is really on their side. This is because they have only one great fear as to physical or military danger. But it is something they live with all their lives. And that is the fear of a *simultaneous* uprising of the subjugated peoples.

For if the East Germans should rise with the fervor they showed in 1953, and the Poles and Hungarians with the bravery they proved in 1956, and the Chinese with the suicidal determination so frequently demonstrated by millions of their compatriots ever since 1950, and the Indonesians with the courage of the "Colonels" in Sumatra only two or three years ago, and the Russians themselves with the daring that was exemplified at Vorkuta; if these and all of the other enslaved subjects of the Communist hierarchy should revolt and begin to fight *all at the same time*, and even if they had in the beginning only sticks and stones for weapons, the lords of the Kremlin could not last three months against such an uprising—and they know it! So they arrange to precipitate uprisings, one by one and here and there, in accordance with their own time table, to entice each separate underground opposition out into the open and destroy it.

But a clear-cut shooting war, between the Soviets and the United States, would be an *automatic signal* for simultaneous revolt. For war on any such scale simply could not be kept from the knowledge of even the most isolated and oppressed people. And hundreds of millions of desperate human slaves all over the world would immediately realize that it was *now or never*. It would produce that very coordination of resistance which the Kremlin seeks above all else to avoid.

From a military point of view the Soviets proceed against the United States on the soundest of strategy. It calls for paralyzing their enemy and their enemy's will to resist, by internal subversion, before ever striking a blow. Not until the Soviets have complete victory already assured by such subversion and paralysis is there the slightest danger of any military attack on the United States itself from the outside. If and when it does come it will be merely part of a "mopping up" operation, to destroy potential resistance movements within America by mass murder and limitless terror. To the hopeless slaves of the Communist tyranny elsewhere in the world it will then be obvious that the Soviets

are merely suppressing revolt, or preventing future revolt, by their usual methods, in another territory that has already been conquered.

It is, however, precisely because no earthly power could drag the Soviets into a real war or an honest war with the United States today that they beat their breasts so much and threaten war so loudly and so often. This writer believes that, just as a matter of sound common sense and of permanent national policy, we should keep our powder dry—and keep plenty of it. But we should also remain constantly and acutely aware of the incredible waste of billions of dollars, the socialization of our economy, the centralization of government power, and all of the other Soviet-serving measures being so skillfully promoted by Communist influences within our government, with this completely phony threat of outside war as the excuse.

SECTION TWO

But Let's Look Deeper...

Now if the danger from the Communist conspiracy were all we had to worry about, it would be enough. But every thinking and informed man senses that, even as cunning, as ruthless, and as determined as are the activists whom we call Communists with a capital "C," the conspiracy could never have reached its present extensiveness, and the gangsters at the head of it could never have reached their present power, unless there were tremendous weaknesses in the whole body of our civilization—weaknesses to make the advance of such a disease so rapid and its ravages so disastrous. And this feeling is easily confirmed by observation. But to analyze and understand these weaknesses we have to go deeply into both the political history and the philosophical history of the human race. By your leave—or perhaps I should say without it—I am going to attempt that analysis. For we definitely need this understanding also, as background to the suggestions of program and of action which will eventually follow. I shall keep this exploration from being dry and boring, to the best of my ability. And I shall keep it as short as I well can.

In my opinion, the first great basic weakness of the United States, and hence its susceptibility to the disease of collectivism, is simply the age of the *Western European* civilization. And I am not being cryptic, clever, nor facetious, as I hope soon to make clear. Some of you will already have recognized, in fact, that I am drawing a corollary to the conclusions usually connected with the name of Oswald Spengler. In actual fact there were many other scholars who, during the first decades of this century, supplied what were probably sounder studies and interpretations of the cyclic

theory of cultures than did Spengler. But the concept has become so associated with his name that we might as well accept that identification. So let me put "Spengler's theory" in simple language, as concisely as I can.

Oswald Spengler was a very learned but very conceited German who wrote a book, first published in 1918, I believe, of which the title in the English translation was *The Decline of the West*. A lot of its direct effectiveness was spoiled by the almost nauseating displays of erudition in which the book abounds. Chief Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes once called it "a marvelous humbug of a book," which description actually reveals more about that eternal sophomore, Holmes, than it does about the ostentatious scholar, Spengler.

And despite the way that Spengler overplayed his hand and overproved his point, a rather strange thing has happened. The so-called liberal scholars of the world completely demolished Spengler's arguments at once. And then they have kept right on returning to the task, and demolishing Spengler's thesis *finally and for good*, every year or two for the past forty years. For the convincing way in which Spengler's explanation fits the known facts of human history just would not let his conclusion be downed and forgotten—any more than the convincing way in which Darwin's general theory fitted the known facts of animal life would let Darwin's theory be suppressed and ignored two generations earlier.

Until at last the international socialists, with the Fabians and Labor Party bosses in England taking the lead, made one grand and lasting effort to have Spengler discredited by being overshadowed. They took a meretricious hack named Arnold J. Toynbee, who just by the intrinsic evidence of his own pages is one of the worst charlatans that ever lived; they had Toynbee interpret and rewrite history in such fashion as specifically to supplant Spengler's cyclic theory of cultures with Toynbee's half-baked nonsense;

and then they—the whole liberal establishment, especially of England and America—gave Toynbee such favorable publicity and such a terrific build-up as no other historian, not even the socialist H. G. Wells, has ever enjoyed before. The result has been that today at least one thousand people are familiar with Toynbee's history, and have even read a few pages of it, to each one who has read Spengler and knows what he tried to say.

Those who are familiar with the way in which Stalin won out in his contest with Trotsky, in the years 1924 to 1929, will recognize the similarity of the technique used. Stalin, who was in complete charge of all media of communication in Russia during those years, never actually suppressed, nor even refused to allow to be published, any pamphlets by, or favorable to, Trotsky. He merely held the press run and distribution of all such pamphlets down to a few thousand, on the ground that the demand didn't justify any more; while pamphlets by himself or others, condemning Trotsky, were printed and distributed in huge quantities all over Russia. Incidentally, it is the same typically Communist technique which was used by the Fund for the Republic, when they printed and distributed thirty-five thousand copies of Erwin Griswold's straining pedantry in defense of the Fifth Amendment pleaders; and then printed and distributed *one thousand* copies of Dickerman Williams' answer to Griswold's nonsense, in order to show how fair-minded they were.

But I am getting off the track. Which is that, due to all this huge build-up of Arnold Toynbee as a philosopher-historian, almost any American or Englishman who happened to take a notion, for some reason, to go digging into world history from a philosophical viewpoint—or just from sheer curiosity—would certainly turn to Toynbee, would never have heard of Spengler, and hence would have no chance to learn Spengler's ideas. And all of this introduction to those ideas has not been wasted, I hope. For it does em-

phasize this fact. *Spengler's theory is absolutely fatal to the acceptance of socialism or any form of collectivism as a forward step, or as a form of progress, in man's sociological arrangements.* For in Spengler's view collectivism is a disease of society, concomitant with decay, and remarkably similar to cancer in the individual.

Basically, when you dig through the chaff and the dressing in Spengler enough to get at his thought, he held that a societal development which we ordinarily classify as a civilization is an organic culture, which goes through a life cycle just the same as any of the individual organisms which we see whole and with which we are more familiar. It has been many years since I have read Spengler, so I do not know how far I am wandering from his own specific or exact thinking, in trying to present his central theme. There is certainly more Welch than there is Spengler in what follows. But the easiest way to make the theme clear is to illustrate the life of a civilization as a parallel to the life of an individual man.

You then find, that of the some twenty-one or twenty-two civilizations which we know enough about to discuss intelligently, some were struck down while in middle age and reasonable health, by an enemy, as was the Neo-Babylonian civilization by Cyrus, for instance; just the same as an individual man might be shot by an enemy, or run over by a streetcar. Another, like the Carthaginian, never was able to attain its full normal growth and strength, because of the overwhelming competition, for sustenance and *lebensraum*, of a too close, too powerful, and too greedy rival, namely Rome—which must have been the case for many a man, in the barbarian settings of our evolution. And another, like the Assyrian, could almost be said to have died of a heart attack, it went to pieces so suddenly and so completely in the middle stage of an apparently successful and healthy existence. There were factors of weakness inside the body which caused it to drop almost

exactly like a man whose heart suddenly kicks up and then quits altogether twenty minutes later.

The real point, however, is this. An individual human being may die of any number of causes. But if he escapes the fortuitous diseases, does not meet with any fatal accident, does not starve to death, does not have his heart give out, but lives in normal health to his three score years and ten and then keeps on living—if he escapes or survives everything else and keeps on doing so, he will eventually succumb to the degenerative disease of cancer. For death must come, and cancer is merely death coming by stages, instead of all at once. And exactly the same thing seems to be true of those organic aggregations of human beings, which we called cultures or civilizations.

The individual cells in a human body die and are replaced by new ones constantly. Only when and where cancer attacks a part of the body are the dead ones not replaced by new cells which contribute their share of strength to the body as a whole. The individual human beings in an organic culture die and are replaced constantly by new ones. But even if the culture escapes enemy conquest and accidents of nature and starvation and all the fortuitous diseases—such as the internal bleeding which almost destroyed Europe at the time of the Reformation and the Thirty Years War—death will still come eventually, and usually a lingering death, through the degenerative disease of collectivism. For collectivism destroys the value to the organism of the individual cells—that is, the individual human beings—without replacing them with new ones with new strength. The Roman Empire of the West, for instance, started dying from the cancer of collectivism from the time Diocletian imposed on it his New Deal. And while it was given the *coup de grâce* by the barbarians a hundred and seventy-five years later, it had already been so weakened by this cancer that the city of Rome itself had been an easy prey to Alaric more than sixty years before its final fall.

Now how really exact or how valid this parallel between the lives of human individuals and the lives of their well integrated aggregations may be, I don't know. I certainly do not have either the knowledge or the inclination to support whatever belief Spengler may have had that there was actually a biological compulsion for a social organism to follow a life cycle similar to that of the individual. But no such rigid crystallization of the thought is at all necessary. For whether fatalistically determined by biological principles or not, there is an analogy between the two which is inescapable. And even if it is nothing more than a useful analogy, subject to all of the flaws and possible exceptions which may mar any analogy, it leads automatically to conclusions which are devastating to socialist theory. For it is perfectly evident, right in the cases of the very civilizations that we know most about, that both the Greek and the Roman civilizations did perish of the cancer of collectivism, and that the civilization of Western Europe is doing so today.

Now it is even possible to establish a fairly accurate time ratio for this analogy or parallel. It runs about twenty to one. In other words a civilization fourteen hundred years old would be at the physical stage in its life cycle, roughly, of a man of seventy. And with that yardstick in mind we can now come at last to take the look at Western Europe which I have been trying to make worthwhile; and after that the look at America which is the real goal of all this preparation.

The civilization of Western Europe arose out of the ashes of the Roman Empire of the West. If we try to establish any approximation to a birthdate, the analogy becomes sloppy. For actually the parallel is much closer to that of an oak tree which has been felled, but which still scatters acorns that sprout long afterwards. But if we still stick to the analogy of a man nevertheless, we might consider that, after a long gestation period, an entity which could

eventually become Western European civilization was born in the time of Charlemagne. The boy had reached the strutting, stick-throwing stage at the time of the Crusades; the stage of growing intellectual curiosity in the Renaissance; the stage of youthful adventure in the ocean explorations of the fifteenth century; and then three centuries, or the equivalent of fifteen years for a man, of the most solid accomplishments of a hard-working, hard-thinking middle age.

None of these comparisons will quite hold water, and I don't know whether Spengler could have postulated some that would or not. But after all shortcomings of the allegory are recognized, the fact remains that Western Europe of the last half of the nineteenth century was remarkably similar to a man of some sixty-five years of age who had led an extremely busy life of great stresses and strains, but an extremely successful life, nevertheless, of mental growth, physical accomplishments, and material acquisitions. The old man had weathered every danger, had stood all the bludgeonings of fate, and had come out, at that age, with a tremendous accumulation of knowledge, experience, material possessions, and prestige among his neighbors—the other civilizations or societal organizations of the rest of the planet.

In fact, in my amateurish opinion, the last half of the nineteenth century A.D., like the first half of the sixth century B.C. before it, was the high-water mark up to its time of human civilization, accomplishment, and hope for the future. And it was Western Europe which made that last half of the nineteenth century the period of the highest level to which man has yet climbed in his struggle to reach an enlightened and humane life.

But, as so often happens for the individual, by the time Western Europe had the knowledge, the wealth, and the ability to get the most out of life, it was ready to die. The truth is that, by a cycle which seems inevitable whether

it is a biological reality or only an analogy, Western Europe was worn out. And under those circumstances the degenerative disease of collectivism, the cancer of social organizations, began its peripheral infiltration.

Not only the early beginnings of the disease, but the certainty of its slowly increasing ravages, and the eventual fatal effect of its ultimately advanced stages, were clearly visible to the genius of Herbert Spencer as early as the middle of the century. And by the time Bismarck, forming that alliance of the autocratic top of society with the greedy masses at the bottom, which is so commonplace in history, began to crystallize the nebulous theories of the Marxists and other modern socialists into the welfare legislation of Germany of the 1880's; by that time the disease was starting to eat its way further into the body in disastrous fashion. Its ravages continued, increased, and spread, until today Western Europe is so sick and weakened from the collectivism in its body and veins that it can never recover.

This doesn't mean that, in the normal course of events, Europe will soon become a desolate waste, while the monuments of its former kings lie toppled and forgotten where the lone and level sands stretch far away. Even when an individual is dying of cancer, there are periods of apparent recovery or improvement, and even times when some organs of the body seem as strong, healthy, and invulnerable to the disease as ever. Also, I must emphasize again that there are many points—such as the doubtful transmissibility of cancer itself to individuals, through either contagion or environment—at which there are apparent flaws in the analogy which would take more time than we can spare here to put in their proper light. And sticking to the historical parallels for the minute, rather than the biological one, it is clear that even hundreds of years after the fall of the Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Persian civilizations in the Tigris-Euphrates stretches of Western Asia, the subjects of the Sassanid dynasty and other lesser offsprings of those

once great civilizations led lives that were perhaps happy, and that certainly were important to themselves. I am sure that, likewise, it will be a long time before the lizards run undisturbed over the toppled ruins of the Arc de Triomphe, or London Bridge is allowed to fall, unreconstructed, into the waters of the Thames.

But our analysis does mean that the entity which was Western Europe; the social organism which was so closely knit and so well integrated despite its national boundaries, languages, and jealousies; the Western Europe whose parts were so intertwined that Napoleon of France could marry the daughter of the emperor of Austria to help one of his brothers to rule Spain and another brother to rule Holland; the Western Europe which could spare the strength to spread its pioneers to colonize the uninhabited lands, and its pukka sahibs to bring civilized rule to the settled natives, on all the continents of earth—*that* Western Europe of the nineteenth century can never come back. It is either dying before our eyes, or is already dead. For the vigor of its muscles and the strength of its whole body have been sapped beyond recovery by the cancer of collectivism.

Now, lest I seem to be putting too much dependence in an analogy which is full of holes, let me just very briefly make a more matter-of-fact approach towards the same conclusion. For regardless of any organic cycle which may be involved, it is perfectly visible and incontrovertible that the rugged pioneer settlers of a new land want as little government as possible; that as the new society becomes more settled, as population grows, as commerce and/or industry increase, as the society grows older, more and more government creeps in. And then, because demagogues find it to their personal advantage, they use trickery, persuasion, and bribery of the people with their own money, to make the rate of increase in the quantity and reach of

government far greater than the rate of increase in either the population or the justifiable need for government. So that by the time any society which has been so originated and fashioned has reached a thick population, comparative wealth, and considerable age, enough government has already been imposed on the people to constitute the beginnings of collectivism.

This happened to the people who settled the islands and founded the city-states of Greece. It happened to their descendants who settled the Italian peninsula and founded the Roman Empire. It happened to *their* spiritual descendants who built the Western European civilization. And it is certainly happening to *their* descendants who founded and have built the American Republic.

With the next inevitable stage, after advanced collectivism has destroyed the vigor of any such society—which is its break-up into feudal units and the accompanying serfdom—we are not concerned here. But what we are concerned with is the time usually involved in these successive developments. It is this question of the speed of the movement around the arc, from pioneer to serf, or of the various stages of the movement, to which this whole present discussion has been leading. And purely for the sake of simplicity and clarity, I hope you will let me go back to my analogy, even if you now regard it only as a figure of speech.

For the whole point is that the Greek civilization was at least many centuries old—that is, many centuries removed from its pioneer days—before Pericles started it on the road to death, at the very height of its glory, through making the government increasingly responsible for its citizens, instead of its citizens being responsible for, and watchdogs over, their government. Rome was already over a thousand years from the days of Romulus and Remus when Diocletian's reign signalized the advance of collectivism beyond the point of any possible recovery. Western Europe was, by a most conservative method of figuring its age,

at least eleven to twelve hundred years old before the disease of collectivism began to bring it to its deathbed. Or we even know enough today to go back in the other direction, where we find that the first Babylonian civilization also was at least a thousand years old before collectivism had become sufficiently prevalent for Hammurabi to formalize it as the New Deal of his era.

Now—in view of all of that, take a look at what has happened to America. It's true that the same thing has also happened to most of the other former British colonies, such as Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, but that is not our concern here; and there was a little more justification for it anyway, because they remained more closely tied to England. But the United States was not only a new and completely independent country. It was, by any measure of appraisal, the seat of a whole new civilization.

There are few parallels in history more striking than the way Italy was settled by Greek pioneers, who simply took over from the aborigines already there, and developed the new nation and new civilization of Rome, and the way America was settled by pioneers from Western Europe who developed a new nation and a new civilization here. In its earlier centuries America not only did not regard itself as a part of the European organism at all, but became fiercely proud of its differences from Europe, and of its indigenously vigorous customs, culture, and destiny of its own. The American civilization was every bit as much of an entirely new and different civilization from the old and ancestral one of Western Europe, as was Rome a new civilization distinct from Greece.

And this American civilization, at the turn of the present century, was only three hundred years old. It had the strength and vigor and promise of a healthy young man in his late teens. There was no reason on earth for any such organism to be attacked by, and start succumbing to, the cancerous disease of collectivism at that stage of its young

manhood, with its whole life span of accomplishment before it. And any of the natural or fortuitous attempts of the disease to get a foothold in the American social body—such as the virus implanted by Edward Bellamy with his *Looking Backward*, or by Upton Sinclair with his *Jungle*, or even the more pretentious concoctions of Thorstein Veblen—would have been so easily repulsed by the strong and growing organism that none of them would have left even a scar.

But we have the cancerous disease of collectivism firmly implanted now, nevertheless. We have people feeling that nothing should be done by them, but everything for them by the government. Its disastrous ravages are quite far advanced. And we have it, basically, because of too long and too close an association with a parent that was dying of the disease; that was old enough and weakened enough for the virus to be rampantly active throughout this parent's whole environment.

When Woodrow Wilson, cajoled and guided even then by the collectivists of Europe, took us into the first World War, while solemnly swearing that he would never do so, he did much more than end America's great period of happy and wholesome independence of Europe. He put his healthy young country in the same house, and for a while in the same bed, with this parent who was already yielding to the collectivist cancer. We never got out of that house again. We were once more put back even in the same bed by Franklin D. Roosevelt, also while lying in his teeth about his intentions, and we have never been able to get out of that *bed* since.

In the meantime, the closer our relationship with this parent civilization has become, and the more exposed to the unhealthy air and the raging virus of the sick room we have been, the sicker and more morbidly diseased has the patient become. Until now, there is a tremendous question whether, even if we did not have the Communist con-

spirators deliberately helping to spread the virus for their own purposes, we could recover from just the natural demagogue-fed spread of that virus when it is already so far advanced. With the Communists skillfully using and encouraging the disease as a means of weakening us, the outlook leads ever more irresistibly to despondency and despair. And we simply cannot overlook or underrate the prevalence of this disease in our vitals—entirely aside from the way the Communists agitate the affected parts and make the disease worse—in any sound thinking or constructive plans for the future of America.

But—if I thought all hope were gone I wouldn't be here, and neither would you. Let's leave the Communist disease-carriers out of the picture for a minute. I knew a man who, when he was around fifty, and still otherwise a very healthy fifty, was found by the doctors to have cancer already far advanced in one side of his jaw. They took that side of his jaw, and practically half his face, right away from him at once. And when I first got to know him, at least ten years later, he had a very peculiar looking face, it is true; but otherwise he was a grand example of both mental and physical health for a man of sixty-five; and he was very happily teaching his lifetime subject as a professor at one of our most famous universities. Probably all of you have known somewhat similar cases. And it is certain that in those very rare cases where a healthy young man of twenty-five does, in some way, contract cancer, a sufficiently accurate diagnosis and sufficiently drastic surgery can restore him to health and enable him to go on and live out a normal, active, successful and happy life. But it can't be done by half measures.

Now what I have been trying so long and so hard to say comes to this. We have got to stop the Communists, for many reasons. One reason is to keep them from agitating our cancerous tissues, reimplanting the virus, and working to spread it, so that we never have any chance of recovery.

And stopping the Communists is the most urgently important task before us, which we are going to talk about plenty at this meeting. But even in stopping them, or in our efforts to do so, we cannot forget for a minute the disease which has enabled them to go so far, weaken us so much, and become so dangerous to us. Nor can we forget for a minute the imperative need of excising and stopping the disease itself, while we are stopping and after we have stopped the Communists, or we shall merely die a somewhat slower and more lingering national death than if we let the Communists destroy us in the first place.

Push the Communists back, get out of the bed of a Europe that is dying with this cancer of collectivism, and breathe our own healthy air of opportunity, enterprise, and freedom; then the cancer we already have, even though it is of considerable growth, can be cut out. And despite the bad scars and the loss of some muscles, this young, strong, great new nation, restored to vigor, courage, ambition, and self-confidence, can still go ahead to fulfill its great destiny, and to become an even more glorious example for all the earth than it ever was before. It should be centuries from now before the natural time comes for the decline of America, and for the highest torch of civilization to be taken over by the rising newer nations to the West. But we do have to achieve the sufficiently drastic surgery; and that of course is a Herculean task. We shall return to a study of it when we come to the more positive part of this program.

SECTION THREE

And Deeper Still . . .

Now, Gentlemen, in looking thoroughly and realistically at the danger to everything we have inherited, spiritual as well as material, and at the cause of that danger, we come to the second of the fundamental reasons for deep and basic anxiety. And putting that matter bluntly at once, the reason is simply loss of faith. Not just loss of faith in God and all His works but loss of faith in man and his works too, in his reasons for existence, in his purposes, and in his hopes.

Now I know that there are still millions of devout Catholics, fundamentalist Protestants, and faithful Jews in this country who still believe unquestioningly in the Divine Truths and powers which their Bibles reveal to them, and whose conduct and relations with their fellow men are guided strictly by the precepts of their religious faith—or who at least feel that they have sinned whenever they have transgressed such precepts as understood by their consciences. I have hundreds of good friends in those categories, including some in this room.

Let all of us thank whatever God we severally worship that there is so large a remnant of the really true believers still left. We honor them. We need their steadying adherence to the rock of reverence, and their aspiration of unwavering obedience to ancient and Divine Commandments. We desperately need their unshakable confidence in absolutes, in eternal principles and truths, in a world of increasing relativity and transitoriness in all things. We admire them. In fact, as will become more clear tomorrow, the young man I admire most of all of those America has produced was a fundamentalist Baptist missionary named John

Birch. My own obsession with this fight against the increasing forces of evil in the world, which—as already explained—has caused me to give up business career and income and any prospect of ever having any peace or leisure again during my lifetime, is due in large part to my admiration for John Birch; to my feeling that I simply had to pick up and carry, to the utmost of my ability and energy, the torch of a humane righteousness which he was carrying so well and so faithfully when the Communists struck him down.

The true fundamentalists in our midst, whether Catholics, Protestants or Jews, are the moral salt of the earth—of an increasingly savorless earth where such salt is like a stream of clear water in a desert. And nothing I say now, nor any of the plans I outline tomorrow, is intended to question, weaken, or disturb any fundamentalist faith in the slightest; or to discount one iota its tremendous worth as a core of strength for all that we might hope to do.

But—we must not let our admiration for, dependence on, and feeling of spiritual kinship with, the fundamentalists, blind us to the visible fact that their number grows smaller every year. Among the people literate enough and ambitious enough to be activists in Europe and America; that is, among the leaders of all levels and in all segments of society, from a factory foreman to the chairman of a political party, whose total influence determines what gets done, what the masses think, and which way community, state, or nation moves on the ideological parade ground; among this ten percent or thirty percent of the population, or whatever the percentage may be, those who are honestly true believers, in a faith which most of them still profess, is an ever smaller minority. It becomes increasingly smaller with every senior class our colleges now turn out, with every novel of the *Peyton Place* or *By Love Possessed* type which the hundreds of thousands read, and with the impact of many of the television programs which millions of viewers see.

What is far worse, fully one-third of the services in at least the Protestant churches of America are helping that trend. For the ministers themselves are *not* true believers in the Divine Names or the Divine History and Divine Teachings to which they give lip service, as they go through their conventional motions on Sunday mornings. Some have merely watered down the faith of our fathers, and of theirs, into an innocuous philosophy instead of an evangelistic religion. Some have converted Christianity into a so-called social gospel, that bypasses all questions of dogma with an indifference which is comfortable to both themselves and their parishioners; and which "social gospel" becomes in fact indistinguishable from advocacy of the welfare state by socialist politicians. And some actually use their pulpits to preach outright Communism, often in very thin disguise if any, while having the hypocrisy as atheists to thank God in public for their progressive apostasy.

It may shock the Protestants among you to have all of these things said out loud, but you know in your hearts that they are true. It is also true that while later, perhaps slower, and not yet so far advanced in some of these cases, the same trend of worldly disillusionment and loss of true faith is visible among Catholics, among Jews, among Moslems, among Buddhists, and among the formerly devout believers of every great religion of the world.

We must not only know the truth, but face the truth, if it is to set us free or to keep us so. And the fundamental truth of our times, Gentlemen, as distinguished from the fundamentalist truth, is just this. Except for the diminishing number of fundamentalists of all religions, and the increasing but still comparatively small percentage of the human race which has fervently accepted Communism as a religion, all faith has been replaced, or is rapidly being replaced, by a pragmatic opportunism with hedonistic aims. And what a fall that is for a race which can boast of once having listened to a St. Augustine, a St. Francis of Assisi, a John

Milton, or an Alfred Tennyson. The further and more specific manifestation of that fundamental truth is that *in Western Europe and America today we are living in a spiritual vacuum,* exactly as were the Romans after they had lost any real faith in their pagan gods and before the rise of Christianity.

In the middle of the nineteenth century Lord Tennyson, with one of the greatest and most rational minds, at the very apex of the enlightenment achieved by the Western European civilization, could still write with complete conviction:

> Our little systems have their day;
> They have their day and cease to be:
> They are but broken lights of Thee,
> And Thou, O Lord, are more than they.

Compare that with the acutely cynical flippancy of a current gem, which goes something as follows:

> A life force afflicted with doubt,
> As to what its own being was about,
> Said: "The truth I can't find,
> But I'm creating a mind,
> Which may be able to figure it out."

And in that comparison you can see the magnitude of our loss, as to a base for our morals, our purposes, and our aspirations.

For the next part of the truth we must face is that for the past several hundred years our morality, in Europe and America, was tied to a belief in the rewards and punishments delineated by Christian dogma; to the accepted commandments of a very real and very majestic Deity; and to the desire of the true believer to become worthy of the love of an omniscient living God. The reality and earnest-

ness of Christian faith was the foundation of our ethics, and the substance of our consciences. When Voltaire said that if God did not exist we should have to invent him, it was a very blasphemous remark but a very penetrating one, as to the dependence at that time of morals, humanitarianism, and purposes on what has since come to be called the anthropomorphic conception—that is, a God in whose image man himself was created.

Now the trouble is that, in the minds of a vast majority of worshippers, their God had become too close, too concretely defined, and all the details of heaven and hell and of their God's creation and rule of the earth itself had become too vividly and too rigidly put in place. This whole framework of belief could not withstand the sheer facts and convincing rationalizations of the scientific revolution. When Herbert Spencer relegated his own Divine Being to the infinitely remote and impersonal classification of a *First Cause,* those increasing thousands of intelligent human beings who followed his convincing analyses found that the celestial palace they had built in their minds began to look empty, unnecessary, and perhaps ridiculous. And by the time Ernest Haeckel came to write his *Riddle of the Universe,* that palace and all the foundations of dogma and doctrine which supported it were crumbling into tragic ruins.

For our fathers and their religious preceptors had become too specific and too finite in their beliefs about the Infinite; too egocentric and almost patronizing in their adoption of a Deity as Himself somehow created primarily to be a Father to man. When I went to Sunday School in a country Baptist Church fifty years ago I was taught, with a huge chart on the wall to reinforce the teaching and emphasize its accuracy, that the world was created in 4004 B.C. And I am sure that chart had been drawn, and those Sunday School lessons written, by good Christians who devoutly believed their own teachings.

A religious faith had somehow come to rest its case in the minds of men on these and similar minute and unjustified projections of its more important certainties. As increasing knowledge of history and science made it more and more impossible for the intelligent mind to accept the projections, the more general and deeper articles of faith began to lose their hold as well. But these deeper articles of faith were, for most men, the straw with which were built the bricks of their consciences. Without this straw the bricks either did not get built at all, or were shoddy and insecure against the erosion of opportunism or the onslaughts of temptation.

Through many centuries Christianity, despite all of its splits and schisms, supplied the fabric of morality for the whole Western World—through its threats of punishments, promises of rewards, and the humanizing effect of its proffered love by and for a Divine Father. But despite all the billions of words that have been written to the contrary, that fabric is now pierced and torn and weakened beyond dependability. For a vast majority of those who proclaim themselves Christians today, and attend church services, do not really and literally believe in either the punishments, the rewards, or even in the physical and biological existence of a Divine Father with any interest in their personal lives and actions. The momentum of a former belief, and the customs which grew out of it, still have great value. But the fabric is worn too thin to have its old effectiveness.

Now please do not jump to any conclusions that I want to see Christianity denied, discarded, or even further weakened, in the slightest. Exactly the opposite is true, as I hope to make clear when we come back to this subject from the constructive side tomorrow. But I am not in favor of trying to reimpose all or any of the strands of a fundamentalist faith on those whose reason, whether right or wrong, has honestly told them that we cannot know such positive things about the Unknowable. For that would be like trying

to tie the waves of the ocean together with ropes, or to confine them with fishing nets.

But I believe there is a broader and more encompassing faith to which we can all subscribe, without any of us doing the slightest violation to the more specific doctrines of his own creed or altars of his own devotion. And I believe it is an ennobling conception, equally acceptable to the most fundamentalist Christian or the most rationalistic idealist, because its whole purport is to strengthen and synthesize the ennobling characteristics of each man and the ennobling impulses of his own personal religion. It is a conception which the Baptist John Birch, the Catholic Hilaire Belloc, and the agnostic Thomas Jefferson would alike have welcomed. And in the short time we can give to so mighty a subject, in this particular program, I shall return to it tomorrow to the extent necessary for its place in my immediate proposals. What I am trying to do now is merely to make a realistic appraisal of our weaknesses, because without doing so we can only dissipate our remaining strength in trying to build fortifications and temples on sinking mud or shifting sand.

For not only is this loss of reinforcing faith in the cement of our morals a weakness in itself of immense significance, but like all of our weaknesses it has been pounced upon by the Communists, and used and made worse by them with great skill and determination for their own purposes. When an individual American, or any other human being, sees himself as no longer responsible to a Divine Being, but as merely a living accident, not connected in any way with cosmological purpose, it becomes far easier for him to make his decisions about his own life and actions entirely on the basis of his temporal comforts and the earthly desires of his own personality. If he is the kind of man who wants financial success for the ease, or leisure and travel, or the prestige which it supposedly brings (and sometimes does), he is not going to buck Communist pressures in any way

that will endanger that success or handicap his progress. If he is imbued with ambition for power, he is more readily inclined to get on the Communist bandwagon, if that seems to be the surest *road* to power (as it certainly does to a great many Americans today). The Communists are able to use this lack of moral stamina among their enemies in a thousand ways to make their own progress easier and the conquest of those enemies more rapid.

The most terrible result of this collapse of the rock of faith on which our morality was built is the rise of the amoral man—of which the usual Communist himself is the most illustrative example. For an amoral man, like Stalin, is infinitely worse, from the point of view of a humanitarian civilization, than an immoral one like Hitler. An immoral man may lie, steal, and murder; the worst of them even without any seeming limit or hesitation. But it hurts his conscience. He is, at least potentially, susceptible to humanitarian or moral considerations, to some extent, and if they are presented cogently enough to him. There is even the possibility always that he may sometime, or in some ways, repent and make what amends he can for his crimes.

An amoral man, however, has simply wiped out his conscience, along with any reason for its existence. He is not immoral, even when performing cold-blooded mass murders, because to him there is no such thing as either morality or immorality. There is only the pragmatic consideration of the advantages or disadvantages to himself, for his own personal desires or plans, in any action—whether it be the building of a monument or the murder of his wife. And these amoral men, the products of a materialistic and sophomoric disillusionment, who have not yet gone on in their thinking to deeper and more permanent truths, now stalk in our midst in greater numbers than ever before in history. Such men, among the Communists, and they are plentiful and highly placed, have no real dedication even to Communism. They regard it merely as an expedient means to

satisfy their personal ambitions more nearly than would any other star to which they might hitch their wagons.

But on our own side of the fence, among the millions who either are, or pretend to be, non-Communists, the amoral man, who has no slightest inner concern with right or wrong, is one of the greatest causes of our constant retreat, and one of the greatest dangers to our survival. And he doesn't wear any label. He usually lives up to the appearance of excellent morals, because it is expedient for his purposes, and you will usually find him in church on Sunday morning, maybe even a Catholic church. But as a member of the United States Senate, running for the presidency, and smart enough to know the strong Communist support behind-the-scenes which he will have to get in order to have any chance of being nominated in 1960, such an amoral man can do a tremendous amount of ball-carrying on behalf of the Communist aims here in the United States; and he can do an almost equal amount of damage to anti-Communist morale in other parts of the world, by his well-publicized speeches against Chiang Kai-shek or in favor of the Algerian rebels. Or an amoral man, as the head of a great so-called republic, may have no slightest scruples or concern about its fate or the fate of other nations, in the face of Communist conquest and of the cruel tyranny of their rule. And any similarity of characters in this story to any living persons is not coincidental.

As to the more normal run of men, whose consciences have been weakened but not abolished by their loss of faith, I tried to cover the various ways many of them are converted into Communists, or are made to do Communist bidding, by many different kinds of appeals, pressures, and proselytizing, in an article entitled "Why People Become Communists." There are reprints of it in the little packets for each of you that I brought with me, and I hope that those who have not already read the article may be willing to do so. For the answers given there, although put together

by such an amateur as myself, have been passed on by experts like J. B. Matthews as being authentic. And these reasons why apparently sane and normal Americans join up with the Communists give a part of the present picture which it is important for us to keep in mind in connection with all that we plan and do. But we couldn't take time to go into that complex field here, even if I had not already covered it to the best of my ability in the article which is available.

For the chief point of this whole present section of our discussion is a more general one. It runs parallel to the main point in connection with the extent to which the cancer of collectivism has weakened and endangered us. It is that, as important and absolutely vital as our stopping the Communists has become, and as much as our loss of moral fibre is now deliberately made more rapid and more damaging by the Communists for their present and future purposes, even throwing the Communists completely out of the picture would not stop the fatal deterioration in our sense of values which is now in process. Besides the short-term job of eliminating the Communist danger—and Herculean as that job may be, it has to be done in a short term or it can't be done at all—we have the equally important longer-range job of ending this mass psychological flight towards amorality; and of restoring convincing reasons for men once again to strive to live up to moral and humanitarian ideals. Otherwise, there is no chance of saving our Christian-style civilization from self-destruction; and it will merely go down to chaos, and the ultimate serfdom of the weak under the strong, more lingeringly than if it is destroyed and its once-free members are enslaved by the Communists.

But whereas stopping the disease of collectivism is a matter of honest diagnosis and drastic surgery, this equally gigantic problem is one of restoration rather than of removal. We have to find something to live for, Gentlemen, that is greater than ourselves, or we surely fall back from

the semi-civilized level of existence, which man has laboriously achieved, into a moral jungle and its inevitably concomitant intellectual darkness. I tried to put the picture of where we are heading in a sonnet to my good friend Alfred Noyes about a year ago—and fortunately a few months before he died. Because it summarizes, as concisely and as expressively as I know how, the outlook I have been trying to define, I am asking your leave to read it at this point.

TO ALFRED NOYES

As after Rome, now once again the drapes
  Of ignorance and bigotry and lust
  May close upon the scene. Insentient dust
Will bury the forgotten stage. And apes
Who know not man, his glory and his dreams,
  His wish to be more worthy of his God,
  Will stalk the earth and wield the brutal rod,
And stamp upon each tiny light that gleams.
Amid the dull collective monotone
  Of universal serfdom will be lost
The memory of song and singer. Prone
  And helpless, soon, upon the rubbish tossed,
Will die the Muse. Let us rejoice to own
  This one great poet more before the holocaust.

And it is not only the muse of poetry that will die of abuse and neglect, if man's loss of faith in there being anything in the universe worthwhile except his appetites is permitted to continue. But we do not have to let it continue. Before our very eyes lie all the incentives man needs to set him back on the road of striving towards moral perfection, true intellectual greatness, civilized relationships, and eternal hope for a still better and greater future, which seemed to him to be such natural goals a hundred years ago. Making

those incentives understood, and giving contemporary man a renewed faith in himself, in his destiny, and in a still greater God than was recognized and worshipped by his ancestors, is a task for myriads of dedicated individuals over generations of time. We can only contribute all we are able to its proper beginning. But without such a goal and purpose all our efforts simply to stop Communism, or to destroy an ephemeral conspiracy of gangsters, are not only doomed to failure. Even if successful they would but postpone the days of darkness for our children, for their children, and for a race of men who once knew the light.

We shall return to the constructive side of this need and this undertaking in the morning.

SECTION FOUR

And So, Let's Act . . .

Now, Gentlemen, let's start retracing our steps. We began by looking at the actual scoreboard of the Communist advance; and by seeing clearly, I hope, how very far that advance has already gone and how imminent and horrible is the danger of the physical enslavement of the whole world, including ourselves. We then went on to the two basic—and related—underlying problems and dangers which threaten us more slowly, but with results which would be just as fatal.

We come now to the question of what is to be done about these problems. Because we should take first things first, and the Communist threat certainly has priority as a danger to be faced, we are going to discuss, probably for the rest of this afternoon, a proposed action program against the Communist conspiracy. And so that you will not think I am entirely crazy, let me point out my awareness of the fact that some parts of this program would require resources and organization utterly beyond anything now available to us. Raising such resources and building such organization is not only a necessary part of the program itself, but certainly one of the most difficult. Do not think, on the one hand, that I have some magic wand for bringing such resources and organization into existence; nor, on the other, that the job has simply been ignored. We have to be realists in this war, or we are wasting our time. And a realist does not run away from parts of a problem or close his eyes to them because they are the most difficult parts.

So we'll come to that subject in due course, with the results of at least a lot of thought that has been given to it. But we can't cover everything at once. I hope, therefore,

that you will be willing simply to put to one side, temporarily, this question of where resources and organization would come from, while we consider strategy and tactics for the fight itself.

Now the very first thing we must realize is that there is no easy formula possible, nor brilliant scheme devisable, for beating the Communists. Communism is not like a poison to which you simply find the antidote. Its present power and extensiveness has not been created by some grand formula that swept the world, but by the sum total—by integration, in the mathematical sense—of an almost infinite number of details done well from the Communist point of view. There has been brilliant control and coordination, by central authority, of the efforts of millions of men who have been brought, by one means or another, to dedicate themselves, body and soul, to separate tiny pieces of the job.

As a result of this forty years of cumulative effort, the conspiracy is now incredibly well organized. It is so well financed that it has billions of dollars annually just to spend on propaganda. It has the benefit of decades of successful experience. It has one set goal, of world rule by any means, to which every act and all of the lives of some forty million Party members are now wholly subservient. And it is guided by men who had to have supreme cunning and ruthlessness to have achieved their present positions within the conspiracy itself.

This octopus is so large that its tentacles now reach into all of the legislative halls, all of the union labor meetings, a majority of the religious gatherings, and most of the schools *of the whole world*. It has a central nervous system which can make its tentacles in the labor unions of Bolivia, in the farmers' co-operatives of Saskatchewan, in the caucuses of the Social Democrats of West Germany, and in the class rooms of the Yale Law School, all retract or reach forward simultaneously. It can make all of these creeping

tentacles turn either right or left, or a given percentage turn right while the others turn left, at the same time, in accordance with the intentions of a central brain in Moscow or Ust' Kamenogorsk. The human race has never before faced any such monster of power which was determined to enslave it. There is certainly no reason for underrating its size, its efficiency, its determination, its power, or its menace.

But—there is one basic consideration of tremendous importance which we must keep always in mind. This is that Communism has been imposed and must always *be* imposed, from the top down, by trickery and terror; and that it must then be maintained by terror. In other words, at least ninety-five percent of all the human beings, on *both* sides of the Iron Curtain, *do not want Communism.* The job is not to unsell a majority from something they want or think is good for them, but to enable a *preponderant* majority to resist and refuse something they do not want. Truth, reality, human instinct, and the overwhelming weight of human desire are on our side. We have these points in our favor, against a conspiracy which must depend on falsehood, cunning, and terror, utilized by less than five percent of the total population. To feel that we cannot win that struggle is a form of pessimism to which I, for one, shall never yield.

In fact I *know,* from compulsions of human behavior which history makes clear, that the human race will throw off this tyranny just as surely as the Greek world, led by Athens, threw off a very similar tyranny imposed by facist Sparta; or as the French people, in a much more minute parallel, put an end to the reign of terror which was the climax of the French Revolution. The question is *when?* How far and how long will the Communist conspiracy keep moving forward successfully, before it is overthrown and scattered to the winds of history? How deeply and irrevocably will we have been infected and ravaged by the disease

of collectivism, in the poisoned air of which Communism thrives, before the ghouls have been routed? How much of the free world can still be saved from the horror of the Communist seizures? Or—and this is entirely likely, gentlemen—even if the conspirators reach a precarious moment when they seem to have the whole world in their grip, how soon thereafter can the thin shell of terroristic power be blown to bits, and how much of our civilization saved from damage beyond repair?

These questions do not lead to defeatism. Nor do they lead to optimism, except of a long-range, patient, and most resolute variety. But they do lead to a realization that this war against the Communist tyranny not only must go on, but *will* go on, with us or without us, until that tyranny is finally overthrown. The socialist ideology may eventually destroy our whole civilization, through erosion and stagnation—though I think even that can and will be prevented. But the criminal activists headed by the gangsters in the Kremlin will not survive to survey the damage they have done. Of all the examples of the "big lie" which the Communists have told to forward their purposes, the biggest is the lie by Khrushchev that history is on their side. Exactly the opposite is true.

We have here a so-far highly successful attempt of cunning power-seeking murderers, using a fraudulent ideology as a cover and excuse for their crimes, to impose a most brutal form of slavery on the whole world. And this development is so contrary to the recurrent trends of sociology, is such a rare exception to the halting but general movement from savagery towards civilization, that only twice in all recorded history has there been anything like it. One was the drive of the Lycurgean fascists, headed by Sparta. The second is the drive of the Marxian Communists, headed by Soviet Russia. Neither is anything more, when viewed in long perspective, than a dirty boil on the surface of history. But a bad boil is not only extremely painful while

it lasts. It can become dangerous and damaging if not lanced in time. The question is how soon the strength and the determination can be gathered to pierce this festering boil.

What I have chiefly intended the questions above and this brief introduction to lead to, therefore, is the realization that we are not tossing a coin which either comes down "win" or "lose"; that every effort we undertake, every battle we fight—even if we lose it—and every sacrifice we make is cumulative. Every bit of dedication to the cause is worthwhile. The most important consideration is to get the most possible effectiveness out of all efforts, all sacrifice, and all dedication, so as to speed the day when the cumulative total of anti-Communist resistance finally overcomes their always overextended framework of their control.

Obviously the place for us to begin is in the United States, for two reasons. First, because it must be our more earnest hope and goal to break out of this straight jacket, woven of pretense, deception, audacity, and terror, before it completely encompasses ourselves. And second because the American support of the international Communist conspiracy is now the backbone of its strength, and has been for many years. If and when we can reach the point of turning just the American government from actively helping the Communist conspiracy everywhere in the world, we shall have won a most important battle in the war ahead.

For this purpose we need to do everything we can which will *directly* affect the actions and decisions of the men in government; to enlighten and slow down those on the other side. But the one ultimately sure way of achieving this reversal is to awaken enough local leaders among an apathetic American people, before the continuous brainwashing by the Left makes it impossible, to the point of generating *public* pressures that will force the slowdown and reversal. The amount of work required to do that, in the face of the way the cards have been so painstakingly

stacked against us, is something to contemplate. And yet there is nothing but work and more work, thinking and more thinking, dedication and more dedication, which will do the job.

So now let's look at the job itself. If I were the "man on the white horse" on our side in this war, *which is still political and educational rather than military;* if I had sufficient resources available and sufficiently accepted authority over one million dedicated supporters—out of at least five times that many militant anti-Communists who are already enrolled in, or contributing to, hundreds of ineffectual "freedom" groups—so that I could coordinate the activities of those million men and women with some degree of positiveness and efficiency approaching the co-ordination by the Communists of their members and fellow travelers; if, though recognized as the leader for the sake of positiveness of direction and coordination of effort and resources, I still had the dedicated advice, council, help, organizing ability, and executive know-how offered by the ablest men in America among the staunch anti-Communists whom I could gather around me; if I had this kind of realistic force with which to fight the Communists, here are some of the things I would do.

1. First we would establish reading rooms, somewhat similar to the Christian Science reading rooms, but small and inexpensive, in just as many of the cities, towns, and villages of this country as we could, just as rapidly as we could. They would be manned, utilized, and promoted in every feasible way by volunteers who were local members of our organization. The space would either be contributed, or would be obtained at a very low rental. And there are men and women, including young men and young women, in every community in America today, who are just looking for some way like this, within their circumstances, to help our cause. Some of them do not really mean the question

"What can I do?" but many of them mean it with all their hearts. And they are the very ones we would have in our fold.

These reading rooms would serve as rental libraries also, but with very strict rules and limitations on the taking out of books, so as to avoid too much loss through Communist sabotage. They would be extremely selective instead of exhaustive as to the books available. And in this connection let me point out that the January, 1959 issue of *American Opinion* will be given over entirely to a listing, under the heading of "Old Books and New Reviews," of one hundred books, with just one or two review paragraphs about each. Our introduction will state that for any good American who really wants to know the true history of events and developments of the past two decades, these books alone or even a majority of them will constitute a complete education in that field—which they will. I can name for you today, out of people whom I had never heard of in 1952, convert after convert to the anti-Communist crusade, and now among the most indefatigable workers in that crusade, who were aroused and became converts, after first reading *May God Forgive Us*, by then determinedly obtaining and reading all or most of some fifty books which I listed in the back of that one. So I know there is a need for such a pamphlet as the January issue of *American Opinion* and that it can do some good.

But the reason I brought that matter up here is that those hundred books, so far as they are available, will be the nucleus of the stock of these reading rooms. And, since Communist pressures have caused the original publishers to allow so many of these valuable books of true history to go out of print, after first small editions, I am delighted to be able to tell you that a good friend of mine, Lyle Munson of the Bookmailer, already has the little company founded and the physical arrangements made for bringing any and all of these books, for which there is any

reasonable demand, back into print in inexpensive editions. He has, in fact, already put out *Major Jordan's Diaries,* which had been out of print and almost impossible to obtain, in a two-dollar edition. He can and will do the same for Arthur Bliss Lane's *I Saw Poland Betrayed,* for George Creel's *Russia's Race for Asia,* and many others if and when we or anybody else needs them in any reasonable quantity.

We would have these hundred books or most of them, and others, in these reading rooms. We would, of course, have all of the best anti-Communist periodicals there. And we would see that plenty of proselytizing fervor was shown in getting people to read both the books and the periodicals. There are countless enthusiasts in our cause today, deeply patriotic and deeply disturbed but frustrated by not knowing what to do, who would welcome such ammunition and direction.

How many books each of these reading rooms would have, especially which books, and under what arrangements, would of course have to be tightly controlled from headquarters.[7]

2. Second, since getting the truth about both recent history and current events into as many hands and heads as possible is so important, we would see that the circulation of the conservative periodicals was expanded as rapidly as it could be done without too much waste.

Now this is not an effort to promote the magazine, *American Opinion,* except as such concern is purely incidental and necessary to the whole presentation. We do think we have an increasingly professional magazine, which will gradually appeal to a much larger audience. In *American Opinion* we try to avoid eggheadism, and lay it out straight, as to both news and opinions, so that he who runs may both read and understand. We believe it can do an increasingly effective job for the anti-Communist cause, because of the tremendous amount of work put into having its pages pre-

sent a true picture of what is happening, and because *American Opinion* is designed to reach and appeal to the ordinary American instead of any special group.

But what we are talking about here is the importance of obtaining a much wider readership for *all* of the worthwhile conservative publications, of which *American Opinion* is only one. All of them should be in those reading rooms mentioned above. I believe that in most cases the subscriptions could be handled by, and the money for the purpose obtained by, the local volunteer groups running those reading rooms. But there are many other fertile fields which should be sowed.

For instance, I think that *National Review* especially, because it is aimed so professionally at the academic mind, should be in every college library in the United States, and if possible in every fraternity house. I think that the *Dan Smoot Report*, because it is fairly short and is quite suitable to pick up for reading during fifteen minutes of waiting time, should be in just as many physicians' and dentists' offices as possible. And while the American Medical Association has now been "took," to the extent that we could not count on any direct help there, the American Association of Physicians and Surgeons,[8] still under aggressively anti-socialist leadership, has fifteen thousand members, most of whom are not only highly respected leaders in their profession, but are also actively concerned as individuals in stopping the socialist advance. I believe that this association's headquarters might furnish us the names of members who would faithfully keep the *Dan Smoot Report* displayed in their waiting rooms, just as fast as we could find the money for the subscriptions. I think that with the proper organizational follow-up we might soon have a lot of these physicians and surgeons paying for subscriptions themselves. And I think that a great deal could be done through this association and its fifteen thousand members, once they found out we had strength and meant business.

For a further illustration, I think that both *Human Events* and *American Opinion*, which complement each other very well, should be put in barbershops, from which we obtained firm written promises to welcome these publications and keep them on the reading tables, just as fast and extensively as we could find the money. Incidentally, *Human Events* not only feels also that we complement each other well, but for this reason is willing to join us in offering bulk subscriptions to the two periodicals together at a reduced price; and *American Opinion* is, to the best of my knowledge, the first and only magazine with which they have been willing to join in such a combination offer. We should have such bulk combination subscriptions taken by business firms for their executives and some or all of their salaried employees as widely as possible—and again as rapidly as possible.

With the metropolitan press and big circulation general periodicals not only largely denied to us, but in many cases either consciously or blindly promoting the Communist line, we need to use every feasible channel to get more of the truth over to more of the American people. And expanding the reach of the publications I have mentioned is just one of many ways of doing it. Also, there is another major and entirely different way of expanding this reach which I have not even touched on here, because I feel we have given enough time to this subject.[9]

3. We would do everything we could to support, maintain, increase the number of stations used, and widen the audiences of, such radio programs as those of Fulton Lewis, Clarence Manion, and dozens of more localized broadcasters throughout the country. This would take the form of encouraging sponsors by both patronage of their products and letters of approval; of praising stations and networks for carrying such programs, to offset the constant barrage of complaints and pressures they get from the Left

Wing; of getting together groups to hear such broadcasts and inviting to those groups the uninformed or mildly interested who might be made active workers in the cause; by helping to raise money when absolutely necessary to keep such programs on present stations or get them on more; and in many other ways.

In Springfield, Massachusetts, there is a radio commentator named Hubert Kregeloh, who also teaches at one of the local junior colleges—and also, incidentally, is one of the associate editors of *American Opinion*. A few years ago he was probably the most popular news commentator in Western Massachusetts on television as well as radio. He is a solidly conservative strongly anti-Communist analyst of the news. The Left Wing succeeded in running him off TV screens for good, by organized and detailed pressure on his sponsors of almost unbelievable rottenness. They then went to work to get him off radio, by pressure on both his sponsors and the radio station, WSPR. It worked to the point that he has not had a sponsor for three years, and the radio station management has made it clear that they wish they could get rid of him. But three years ago a group of patriotic citizens in the Springfield area organized what they call the Committee for American Treatment of the News. Without any tax exemption to help them they have raised the money every year, to pay him the necessary minimum for his services and to pay outright for his radio time—fifteen minutes every weekday. So Hubert Kregeloh is not only still on WSPR, and not only has an excellent following, but I believe the influence of his program and his following may have been a main factor in causing that mealy-mouthed "modern Republican," Congressman John Heselton, to decide not to run again after several terms in Congress.

Now what was done in Springfield can be done by local groups in a great many other places in the United States, if they are given examples of success elsewhere, encouragement, inspiration, and guidance. What is even better is

that in some of these cases, at least, we should be able to help to find commercial sponsors for such broadcasters, and to make the sponsorship a paying proposition so that they would not think of dropping the program. We would thus permit that same anti-Communist money to be used for other purposes. To this end, direction and coordination would be extremely important.

Of course we should also get commentators and programs favorable to our cause on television as soon as and to whatever extent we could. But despite the grandiose plans I am outlining here, Gentlemen, I am still trying to be as practical and realistic, with regard to what I think is actually possible of achievement, as I can. I know the fantastic cost of television programs. So let me point out that I do not think any early extensive use of television by us would be either a wise utilization of resources against other possibilities, nor even necessary.[10]

For television is a quick and powerful medium. But its separate impacts are glancing blows of little depth, compared, let us say, to that of a great book which can be read again and again and which leaves an indelible impression and resolution in the mind. Also, television is tuned to, and aimed at, the masses. Now up to this point anyway, the masses of America, as distinguished from the opinion-molders, and despite all of the brainwashing that has been attempted so far—the masses are still instinctively with us in opposition to Communism.

How much longer this will be so, in the continued current course of events, it is hard to say. But at the present time it is far more important for us to try to reverse the direction of the molding of the opinions of men who read and think and study and are themselves opinion-molders, and for us to try to make going along with the Communists less opportunistically attractive to leaders of little conscience, than it is for us to beat our brains out in too hurried and too ambitious a direct attack on a mass wall we cannot budge.

We have to reach and rebuild this wall of mass opinion in time, of course, because it has already been eroded by, and yielded too much to, the philosophy of collectivism and welfarism. But it is still a bulwark on our side of the front, in the more immediate war against the Communist conspiracy. And our best bet is simply to try to keep it from being eroded further. Which leads us naturally into another step of this concerted program. It is still a prosaic step, against one or two that are somewhat more dramatic, to be suggested presently. But the Communists miss absolutely no bets or channels; and neither should we miss any that are in our practicable reach. So:

4. We would institute the organized planning and control to make full and effectively coordinated use of the powerful letter-writing weapon that lies so ready at hand.

The Communists boast that they can now land fifty thousand individually written letters in Washington, on either side of any subject, within seventy-two hours. Actually that is not too startling an accomplishment. We could make it look like peanuts, with the million truly dedicated and controlled supporters who constitute the hypothesis—though merely an hypothesis—of this part of this discussion. There should be a continuous overwhelming flood of letters, not just to legislators or the executive departments in Washington, but to newspaper editors, television and radio sponsors, educators, lecturers, state legislators and politicians, foundation heads and everybody else whose opinions, actions, and decisions count for anything in the ultimate total actions and decisions. Such an outpouring of mail would give more courage to a lot of people who would prefer to be more clearly on our side, and would at least slow down the brazen advance of some of those on the other side. Let me give you an illustration.

A few months ago United Airlines started a movement, which could have had tremendous psychological and propa-

ganda value for the internationalist left-wingers, by putting the insignia of the United Nations on their planes, with the words "We believe" under the insignia. And in this case a spontaneous letter-writing campaign, with the only organization or inspiration of the campaign coming without any coordination whatsoever from a few small right-wing groups and individuals, was able to force United Airlines to back down completely and publicly admit that they had made a mistake. This in itself would have been significant enough, but there was one angle to it, completely unpublicized, which made the results more striking. This was that United Airlines backed down, and took the UN insignia off their planes, despite the fact that Paul Hoffman, Gardiner Cowles, and Eric Johnston are all members of United Airlines board of directors. This shows what letter-writing can do, even against determined and entrenched opposition.

Also, there would be an advantage in continuous, organized letter-writing campaigns of an entirely different nature. It would give the members of our local chapters and volunteer groups just one more activity, one more thing to do, by which they knew they were accomplishing something and being effective for the cause. For this very reason, among others, the letter-writing of sub-groups should not be left to the haphazard or half-hearted following by the members of hopeful pleas or suggestions. It should be definitely planned, directed, and the amount and promptness of participation constantly checked and evaluated by a central headquarters or director.

The biggest of all organizational mistakes is to set up a local group for some continuing purpose, exhort them to do a good job, and then leave them alone to do it. It is the leadership that is *most* demanding, most *exacting* of its followers, not the one which asks the least and is afraid to ask more, that achieves really dedicated support. We are presupposing here an initial faith and dedication which

should be constantly strengthened by a man's straining efforts to live up to what is expected of him and to live up to the promise he has made to himself. Letter-writing, of a different order of planned continuity and volume than anything attempted before—except on a somewhat more sporadic scale by the Communists themselves; letter-writing of the kind that builds opinion exactly the way single grains of sand build a whole barricade; this is only one, but a still important one, of the disciplined activities by which we would keep a million men working every day, adding small increments of strength to the anti-Communist side, for every bit of the time and energy they could devote to the cause.[11]

5. We would organize fronts—little fronts, big fronts, temporary fronts, permanent fronts, all kinds of fronts. One of the greatest weaknesses and mistakes on the conservative side has been that almost all of the organizations, real ones or just letterhead outfits, have been put together for *general* purposes. The Communists have been far smarter. They would never think of setting up publicly, for instance, a Committee to Promote Communism.

It is too general. Yet we have several leagues against Communism, and others just as vague in the fronts they present.

The most effective fronts, on either side, are *ad hoc* committees, aimed to accomplish, or at least publicize, one particular purpose. The Communists have some long-range fronts, large, permanent, adequately staffed, of which the Committee for Aid to Foreign Born is probably the oldest, largest, and strongest. But they have or have had hundreds of such fronts as the Committee for Clemency for the Rosenbergs, or the Committee to Publicize the Report of the Seven Ministers, which had no permanence, no staff, and frequently no organization except on the letterhead. Some one or more Communists had simply been assigned the job of getting the necessary names and putting on that

particular show—or of getting some gullible non-Communist to do so.

Now on our side probably the most effective of all the organizations has been the Committee of One Million, devoted specifically to the job of keeping Red China out of the United Nations. It has helped a great deal in keeping Red China out so far. And, as is true in the case of all good fronts, well run, its influence has spilled over helpfully in many ways. We have some smaller fronts, such as ORFIT—an organization for repeal of the income tax—which have probably accomplished more, in proportion to the money and effort spent, than many of the larger organizations of conservatives. For it had and has a specific *named* purpose.

But on our side we are surfeited with organizations which have the general purpose of fighting Communism, or the general purpose of promoting free enterprise or of preserving constitutional government. Some of them have done a lot of good. They will never stop the Communists, however, and they are not examples of the use of the front technique. Of course fronts alone aren't going to stop the Communists either. But enough of them being constantly organized—for *this* purpose, *that* purpose, and every kind of purpose—some fading out and new ones coming in all of the time, can bother the Communists, can occasionally put them on the defensive, can bring more of the uninformed and previously indifferent but patriotic Americans into the fight, and can help our cause in many ways. Again, let me try to make my point clearer, and to make it more easily, by suggesting a few examples.

A. Committee for Withdrawal of Recognition.[12] This is one we would set up as soon as possible; a permanent, adequately staffed, front, actively engaged in mobilizing, publicizing, and guiding so as to make effective, all possible sentiment for withdrawal of diplomatic recognition from Russia and the satellite governments. This committee would

keep up a constant expounding and repetition about the reasons for withdrawal. And it would be able to find enough supporters, both individuals and organizations, which the press could not entirely ignore, to get at least some worthwhile free publicity from papers which would prefer to ignore it.

B. An example of fronts at the other extreme, as to size and permanence, which we would set up, might be a Committee to Protest the Firing of Medford Evans. And Gentlemen, don't be afraid of long names for these fronts. Such names, showing exactly what the committee is for, help to bring onto the letterheads and into the roll of active supporters a great many people who would take no interest whatsoever in an activity of a more general nature and with a more vague description, even as ably directed a one as the Campaign for the Forty-eight States.

Now the Communists and their allies and dupes are always shouting about academic freedom. They have arranged several nationally publicized tantrums in educational circles when college professors with Communist records have been dismissed. But they have been quietly causing professors who oppose the Communist line to be eased out of jobs wherever they can. They have made it hard for such conservatives to get jobs. And they have used this pressure and threat unhesitatingly to make anti-Communist professors, who are still on faculties, tone down their anti-Communism or abandon the fight altogether.

Now Medford Evans is being fired—officially he has been told that his contract will not be renewed next June—from Northwestern State College in Louisiana for no other reason than his uncompromising stand against Communism. This can be shown conclusively to the satisfaction of any reasonable man, even a college professor. (A bow to Dr. Oliver.) In fact, as of now the leftists behind this deal, apparently making a puppet out of the weak-kneed college

president, seem to want it known that Dr. Evans is losing his job because of his anti-Communism—again as a warning and threat to others like him.

It is a long story, in which some of the left-wing forces at Harvard seem to be definitely involved, and I'll not go into the details. But Medford Evans' scholarship is unquestioned. He is an excellent and popular teacher, as shown by the enrollment in his classes. And he is a fairly well-known writer for conservative publications. Also, he has friends, both inside and outside of academic circles, all over the United States. The president of the college has shown by both actions and words that he feels himself on very unsure and awkward grounds, in carrying out orders or yielding to pressures which come from others than himself. I believe that, if Medford were willing, and especially if we had the letter-writing strength available as referred to above to support such a front, a Committee to Protest the Firing of Medford Evans could attract enough support to make quite a *cause célèbre* out of the affair, to make this small college and its smaller president look sick, and to throw quite a scare into some others contemplating doing the same thing. A few similar actions would slow down some of the brazen squeezing out of conservatives from teaching jobs, and give new courage to those who remain.[13]

The front business, like a lot of techniques the Communists use, can be made to cut both ways. And we would not have to be worried about their greater numbers smothering us, either. We are talking about a million men, by which of course I mean men, women, and girls and boys of college age or old enough to be in the fight. And while nobody realizes better than I do the tremendous work and strain and dedication on the part of increasing numbers that will be required to recruit such an army, they are there just waiting to be recruited if we can get the story to them. And I hope to convince you tomorrow that my plans and thinking on this score are at least just as

realistic as is any other conceivable undertaking by which we might save ourselves from Communist enslavement. We already know that the whole job is of Herculean proportions, but so must be our efforts. So please let me proceed on my hypothesis for the time being.

And the Communists do not have a million men to work with in this country, even including their fellow travelers and active dupes. For some non-Communist-sounding united-front efforts, in which Communist participation is not easily recognizable, it is estimated that they can muster just about one million useful workers. But for fronts with a visible Communist slant, the reservoir they have to draw from is far less than that. It isn't numbers we have to worry about in this connection, but the courage on the part of our followers to stick their necks out and play rough—the same as the Communists do all of the time—and that courage will come too with gathering strength.

With such fronts as A Petition to Impeach Earl Warren, (and I think we could get the names of a hundred outstanding leaders from the South and many from the North on the letterhead right now); a Committee to Investigate Communist Influences at Vassar College (headed by Vassar graduates, of course); and Women Against Labor Union Hoodlumism (which would pick up the individual stories of husbands injured, cars wrecked, houses damaged, families terrified, in the strike at Kohler and others like it, tell those stories from the women's point of view and show the suffering they caused wives and mothers); with these and dozens of new fronts popping up to attack the Communists —or persons, institutions, and movements giving aid and comfort to the Communists—we can certainly keep this whole front operation from being so one-sided, as it has been. We can stop letting the Communists have the whole effective use of this weapon practically by default, and what's more, we can use the noise and turmoil to help to wake up a lot of people to the fact that there is a deadly fight going on of which they had been blissfully unaware.[14]

C. A part of this same operation is the gathering of petitions; local petitions, national petitions, dealing with political matters, economic matters, educational matters and everything under the sun. This is something else for local workers to do which, in its cumulative effect, is of considerable importance, and which would utilize the available time and energy of such local workers in a way which not only would be worthwhile, but which they could sense was worthwhile if the planning and use of these petitions were thought out and carried through with sufficient care.

Right now, for instance, a Petition to the Airline Pilots Association to Grow Up might find a very responsive reception. I am sure it would with you gentlemen, with both major airlines which serve Indianapolis now on strike.

As the preamble to this petition would point out, in the friendliest possible language in which such a charge could be stated, here is a group of men all professionally trained, all well paid, and all in responsible jobs of a level to make them admired by the public, who by the union tactics of their association are bringing themselves down, in the eyes of the public, to the level of one of John L. Lewis' Mineworkers Locals. These men must have the professional competence of, and considerably more knowledge than, the ship captains of older days. They should have the same respect for themselves and retain and enjoy the same respect from the public; not deliberately put themselves in the same category as chauffeurs and truck drivers, no matter how admirable, and how necessary to our economy, chauffeurs and truckdrivers may be.

It is obvious that some strong left-wing influences have seen a good strategic opening, and have crept into the Airline Pilots Association in considerable strength. And it is unlikely that any such petition would cause them to be dislodged. Also, the petition would undoubtedly be resented by most of the members, even those opposed to the strikes in which they participate—or the strikes of other airline

employees which they support.

But the petition, with perhaps a hundred thousand signatures, even while they resented it, would make these members sit up and take stock of themselves, of their association, and of the way it is being run. It would start a lot of people to thinking about the proper place of unionism in our lives, and about the important part our present commercial airline pilots would play in any future war and the significance of left-wing influences so busily at work in that area. It also well might, as a more direct result, force those left-wing influences to be considerably more circumspect and cautious for quite a while.

Or let's take one more example from the opposite end of the drawer. The time will almost certainly come when that postponed next summit conference will again be brought to the fore. At such a conference in 1959 or 1960, when Eisenhower will have the noisy backing, from a far more leftish Congress than we have ever had before, for even more drastic appeasement of and surrenders to the Communists, the blow to any remaining free-world morale might well be final and fatal. Just as soon as the wind of such a forthcoming summit conference started to blow, we would launch the gathering of one of the most gigantic petitions of all times. My present feeling is that we should pick up Alfred Kohlberg's brilliant line and head this petition simply as follows: "Please, Mr. President, Don't Go!" It is just possible that we could get ten million signatures and stop him from going no matter how strong had been the original intentions of his advisers. And what a blow to the continued Communist parade of success that would be!

But the possible use of petitions is fairly obvious. Goodness knows the Communists have proved their subtle value and effectiveness. We ought to outdo the Communists at least two to one at that game, until we finally make petitions so overabundant and commonplace that they cease, for a while at least, to be a useful technique for either them or ourselves. So let's go on to another step.

6. Another thing we should do, and one badly needed, would be to start shocking the American people—or an increasing percentage of the more literate and more intelligent who have not yet been completely brainwashed—into a realization of what is happening; into a dawning realization of how far and how completely Communists and Communist influences have crept right into communities, institutions, and activities where the general public does not have the slightest suspicion of such infiltration. The best way to do this is by exposure, which is why the Communists just had to get rid of McCarthy, and went to such extreme lengths to do so.

No committee we might set up, of course, would have the subpoena privileges or other Congressional powers of McCarthy, which makes our job far more difficult. And it would, for a while anyway, be vain to count on either of the remaining investigating committees of the House or the Senate. Their files are already bulging with important evidence about individual Communists which has not been used and is unlikely to be used. The Communist political pressures have become so strong and so devastating, and the Supreme Court's decisions have so hamstrung the actions of these committees, that they hardly dare even *go through the motions* of hearings of this kind any more.

But, admitting the difficulties, some really dramatic exposures would be worth a lot. And it is because we *must* have a medium of publication, for a lot of things which the regular press would at present be unwilling to touch, that I have put so much work into *American Opinion*, have seen the magazine as such a necessity, and cannot help coming back to it just briefly here.

We could count on some help from the other reputable right-wing publications, of course, because goodness knows we should be and would be helping them enough. But a medium which is not subject to the editorial ideas or the financial and personal considerations of anybody else is a

necessity. And getting its readership and reach large enough for it to pack a noticeable wallop is also a necessity.

For an article exposing some public figure as a Communist, in a magazine reaching five thousand subscribers, even though many of them were quite influential, could and probably would be ignored by the Communists, and the effect of the article would be smothered by this energetic looking-the-other-way. But if the same thing were in a magazine reaching two hundred thousand subscribers, ignoring the charges would be out of the question. So please allow me to make a circulation of one or two hundred thousand for *American Opinion* a part of my hypothesis for the minute, and go on with this question of administering some shocks to the public.

Let's make what we are talking about clearer by an illustration. There is the head of one of the great educational institutions in the East (not Harvard, incidentally) whom at least some of us believe to be a Communist. Even with a hundred thousand dollars to hire sleuths to keep him and his present contacts under constant surveillance for a while, and to retrace every detail of his past history, I doubt if we could prove it on him. But—with just five thousand dollars to pay for the proper amount of careful research, which could be an entirely logical expenditure and undertaking of the magazine, I believe we could get all the material needed for quite a shock. Of course we would have to satisfy ourselves completely as to whether our guess had been correct, from the preliminary research, before going ahead with the project and spending that much money.

But if we are right, and with the research job done and the material assembled which I think would be available, we would run in the magazine an article consisting entirely of questions to this man, which would be devastating in their implications. The question technique, when skillfully used in this way, is mean and dirty. But the Communists we

are after are meaner and dirtier, and too slippery for you to put your fingers on them in the ordinary way—no matter how much they look and act like prosperous members of the local Rotary Club.

Now such an article might still be pretty much ignored by the general press, no matter how large our circulation. And of course we would be smeared by the liberals in every way they could contrive. For next to a woman scorned, hell hath no fury like that of a liberal about whom—or whose heroes—somebody has told the truth. But the smearing we would have to expect in due course, anyway, no matter what we did. And the article, even if by delayed action, would have a powerful impact. A lot of the very people who joined in the smears would begin to wonder. Some of them would go back and read the article a second time. Others, never having read it, but hearing about it, would get a copy and do so. The softening process of wonder and doubt at work on the resistant minds of these liberals, and on the simply uninformed minds of some of the general public, would be getting those minds in condition for the next shock and then the next one to penetrate further.

For what would make this particular initial and sample shock such a bombshell is, first, the extreme importance of this man in other fields besides education; and second, that almost nobody—except some of those on the same side with him, of course—suspects the guy. It was only a very minor but a very strange incident that happened to turn my surprised eyes, a few years ago, to watching what he said and did against this possibility. But once you do just that, long enough, there is less and less room left for doubt about his real purposes and accomplishments. Yet this man has on his board and administrative committees some of the ablest and most patriotic of Americans. Even a suggestion that he was a Communist, if that suggestion were backed up by enough details and facts to make it obviously worthy of consideration by any fair-minded man, would come as an

absolute blockbuster, in a lot of circles besides the world of education.

Incidentally, as I indicated just now in passing, one of the hardest things for the ordinary decent American to realize is that a secret Communist looks and acts just like anybody else, only more so; or that anybody he, the ordinary decent American, happens to know personally, could possibly be a Communist. Due to the fact that I was for two years chairman of the Educational Advisory Committee of the NAM, and came in contact with leading educators all over the United States, I have known the man under discussion for years and he is—for all outward purposes—one of the nicest men you ever met. *Most of them are.*

Now what I have in mind, naturally, is following up one such bombshell with others. We might use this technique of complete articles in the form of questions, addressed to important figures in various divisions of our national life, whom almost nobody now suspects, in one issue of the magazine after another. We might call it our question series, and get a lot of people looking for the question articles each time. It should go without saying that we would have to be sure enough of our ground in each case to satisfy the most exacting sense of fairness. But I believe the whole series could have the desired effect of shocking a lot of people into a reluctant awareness of what goes on—even many of those who would resent and smear the articles most severely at first. McCarthy had in his camp, before he got through, a lot of the people who had smeared him most bitterly in the beginning—including that newspaper in Syracuse.

As for the number of deserving and sufficiently important targets for the arrows of our series, Gentlemen, don't let that problem cause you a second thought. Highly placed secret Communists, or at least workers for the Communist cause, are something with which we are absolutely loaded. And while proving that any one of them is or ever has been

an actual Communist might be too difficult, or even impossible, proving that the same man is a worker for the Communist cause is a matter of the painstaking accumulation of a tremendous number of details, and then of selecting, merging, and compressing until you have the proper amount of material that yields the greatest explosive power per page.

And there is another important reason for embarking on these exposures besides those that might first occur to you. Let's creep up on it by analogy for a clearer view.

At the time of Pearl Harbor, and in the early years thereafter, it would have been absolutely fatal to Franklin D. Roosevelt and George Catlett Marshall for the part they had played in bringing on that catastrophe to have become known to the American people. By coercion on the one hand and rewards on the other, Roosevelt contrived to have perjury, postponements, decisions against the evidence, and every necessary means used, before or in connection with one hearing after another, to keep the truth from getting into the record. He refused to allow the courts martial demanded by General Short and Admiral Kimmel, to which they were clearly entitled, and he wrecked other service careers brutally and without hesitation, to keep the real facts covered up. For the real facts not only constituted plain unadulterated treason on the part of both Marshall and himself, but they would unquestionably have been so regarded *at that time* by a horrified American public. Exposure *at that time* might have brought Roosevelt's impeachment, despite the war, and would certainly have been disastrous to the reputations and future careers of both Marshall and himself.

But now notice that less than ten years later, through publication of the books by Morgenstern, Kimmel, Admiral Theobald, and others, the true facts concerning Pearl Harbor were definitely established and made available for anybody who wanted to read them. And *by this time,* so far had

effective public opinion in America been gradually eased towards the internationalist Left, the Roosevelt-worshippers didn't challenge the facts at all. They took the position, instead, of practically admitting the facts, and of openly praising Roosevelt for having been so farsighted and such a courageous statesman as to have used this means of getting a united America wholeheartedly into the war; a war which was then prosecuted to such a glorious success, on behalf of the future happiness of the world under Soviet socialist leadership, as to make the loss of lives and ships at Pearl Harbor appear now as a picayune loss and a brilliant gambit.

Well, Gentlemen, I can assure you that the Communists and pro-Communists in Washington today, including those most highly placed, fully expect the same whitewashing of their deeds by the history resulting from those deeds. Right under our noses the Communists are gradually carrying out their plan of grand strategy, as already described, which is so to change the economic and political structure of the United States that it can be comfortably merged with Soviet Russia in a one-world socialist government.

In this patient process they never expect you to be able to find the line, or for there ever even to be a line, on one side of which you can say clearly that the United States is an independent nation, and on the other side of which you would know that the United States was already just another Soviet People's Republic in the world-wide Communist empire—with the police-state features already closing in on us. But somewhere we reach the point—if the Communists are successful, as they now certainly expect to be—where *all* newspapers, *all* magazines, *all* radio and television commentators, *all* lecturers, and *all* historians will be constantly proclaiming the glories of this great one-world socialist government which has now brought peace (meaning subjection and slavery) to all mankind.

Already, through their stooges like Milovan Djilas, who

is *supposed* to be in disgrace in Yugoslavia, and Boris Pasternak, who is *supposed* to be suffering bitter enmity of the dictators in Russia, but whose books have thus been publicized—and, please note, helped by the Left Wing—to become best sellers in America; already through such books, which gullible Americans more readily swallow as true because of the supposed hatred of the authors for their respective governments, tens of thousands of opinion-molding Americans are more and more accepting, or finding less unbelievable, the thesis of these books that Communism itself is all right—in fact is a glorious system—and that all that's wrong with it is the character of the people now running the system.

Already, in hundreds of other ways, the Communists are rubbing out or making more and more shadowy the lines of disagreement and the once sharp differences between our ways and theirs. The movement is smooth, widespread, continuous, insidious, and powerful. Already Communism and Communists—even with a record like Oppenheimer's—become more and more respectable in this country; and outspoken or firmly uncompromising anti-Communists become more and more disparaged as fanatics. And so, already, it becomes less and less reprehensible for an American to be working for Communism, especially if he labels it international socialism, even though he commits treason to the United States in doing so.

The top American secret Communists in this country, therefore, fully expect that *by the time* it is ever possible for anybody to bring out the fact that they have been working as secret Communists, instead of that action then being considered as having been reprehensible, they will be praised for having, in courageous, farsighted, and statesman-like manner, helped to speed progress and the wave of the future. Instead of having committed treason to the United States, they will have been carrying out a deeper and superior loyalty to an all-encompassing one-world ideal

which included the United States. They know that the moral judgments of the future belong to the victors; and they are confident that the agreed-upon legend which becomes history will be written by themselves and their supporters. They are well aware of the thought which Sir John Harrington expressed: "For if it prosper, none dare call it treason!"

Increasingly as we near that stage, therefore, exposure of secret American Communists will mean less and less. Again we see why destruction of McCarthy took precedence over everything else on the Communists' American agenda. For he was exposing treason while it was still treason, and when it really hurt their cause; whereas if they could only hold off such exposures for a few more years, bringing out the same facts and exposing the same men would not amount to anything serious anyway.

Which brings us back to the step we are supposed to be discussing, of our own exposure, through publication, of present secret Communists, while it will still shock the American people and can have some real effectiveness. It would at the present time. For the important consideration would be to do these things, and bring out these facts, before the Communists were ready for them. If we do not start beating them to the punch on a lot of things we are gone anyway.

Of course we would have to be prepared from the beginning for a lot of smearing, as I have already said; and possibly also, no matter how carefully our job was done, for a lot of nuisance libel suits. And we must face the fact that our courts have by no means been immune to Communist infiltration either. So that if the supposedly aggrieved parties could get their cases into certain courts, the libel suits might easily prove to have more than nuisance value. But it is to be remembered that libel suits also necessarily give added publicity to the charges, which is one thing we would be seeking and which the Left would

be most anxious to avoid.

Also, admittedly, the step proposed here is drastic. But this is no cream-puff war we are in, and the stakes involved are not those of a pillow fight. We have to face squarely up to the solid truth—that unless we are willing to take drastic steps, a lot of them, and very drastic indeed, we haven't a chance in the world of saving our lives, our country, or our civilization. And we might as well start reconciling ourselves to having our children—not just our grandchildren—live under the Kremlin's rule, as Mr. Khrushchev indirectly prophesied.[15]

7. The sequence of these steps means nothing except just the way I happen to be listing them. But this one is closely connected in purport to the one above. To keep from wearing you out completely, however, I'll cover it far more briefly.

There are now dozens of slimy characters at loose in our midst, whom I'll call to your attention by describing one who is more or less typical. His usual name is Gordon Hall, though he also uses and has used many aliases. He and his fellow toilers for the Communist cause all follow the pattern more elaborately established by their more spectacularly successful archtype, Avedis Boghis Derounian, otherwise known as John Roy Carlson, author of the libelous book *Undercover* which viciously smeared many good American patriots and sold several hundred thousand copies.

In fact Gordon Hall worked for a few months for the same outfit that financed John Roy Carlson into fame. This was the so-called Friends of Democracy, run by Rex Stout, former editor of the Communist publication *New Masses,* and by the so-called "Reverend" L. M. Birkhead. Gordon Hall was employed by them for the same purpose as had been Carlson: namely, to pose as a violent anti-Semitic, and pass out anti-Semitic literature to outspoken patriots; then, wherever he could find one nibbling at his bait, to follow it up, encourage the man's incipient anti-Semitism, or his

susceptibility to the virus; and eventually to work the victim into a position where, under the prodding of his friend, Carlson or Hall, he said something or did something which could be exhibited as evidence of his anti-Semitism. From then on he was sure to be smeared sooner or later, by the outfit for whom Carlson or Hall were gathering this information, as fascist, anti-Semitic, and generally a rotten character in every way.

Now it is true that any man who ever listened to these whisperings of hatred from Carlson or Hall was foolish, or worse. But a dislike for other races or creeds is a kind of unfortunate weakness to which human nature has a sad and too general vulnerability. It has been used by the Communists with tremendous energy, skill, and determination in America to stir up hatred and distrust among innocent people; between Gentiles and Jews; of Protestants for Catholics and vice-versa; of white people for colored and of our colored citizens for their white neighbors; and in a dozen lesser ways and opportunities. It's a rotten game. But the man who falls for it is not half as rotten as the man who promotes it. And most rotten of all is the *agent provocateur,* who stirs up this hatred specifically for the purpose of being able to accuse others of having yielded to it.

Now this Gordon Hall I am supposed to be talking about —if I can keep from being carried away by my subject—has plenty of other unsavory stretches in his record. But he is very much at large, puts on a very respectable front, and is quietly but busily moving around making speeches somewhere almost every night—to church clubs, PTA groups, and similar small local audiences. And what he spews is subtle but deadly poison, carefully flavored to appeal to each different group in each different locality. He has recently been working New England, which is why I am using him for a sample.

He begins, of course, by announcing that he is vigorously opposed to Communism and Communists, *but*—: We

mustn't allow our fear of Communism, which has little practical basis anyway, to cause us to listen to people who, in fighting Communism, will do more damage to our ideals and our "democracy" and our wonderful American feeling of "brotherhood" than would the Communists themselves. And he then proceeds to make clear that these dangerous detestable people include practically everybody who has ever opened his mouth against Communism.

In Western Massachusetts, for instance, we have several hundred subscribers to *American Opinion,* due to the fact that Hubert Kregeloh, the radio commentator on Station WSPR, of whom I told you earlier, is a regular contributor to our magazine and frequently mentions it on his broadcasts. So, to a PTA audience of some two hundred in Springfield, Gordon Hall, after taking only a careful crack or two at Kregeloh himself—because Kregeloh was likely to have friends in the audience—then went on "regretfully" to make clear that his strongest real criticism of Kregeloh was that Kregeloh unfortunately had now got himself tied up with and was working for a real "hate" group in Boston, headed by Robert Welch. And he left no doubt that this Robert Welch in Boston was promoting hatred for all minority groups, and especially for those who believed in "democracy" and "brotherhood" and social progress; or that anybody who read my magazine ought to be ashamed of having such hatred-promoting trash in his possession.

Gordon Hall then came to Boston and made several speeches, in which he never mentioned my name or let on that he had ever heard of me. For if he had even implied to one of these audiences that I was anti-Semitic or anti-Catholic or anti-Negro or anything else except Communists, or even in general terms that I was running a hate group, the chances are somebody would have got up and called him a liar—as he well knew. But he sawed plenty of wood just the same. And he is plenty smooth.

One result of one of Gordon Hall's appearances in Boston

would have been amusing but for its confirmation of the widespread impression he was creating so successfully. By the time he got through with this particular audience of good church members he had them believing exactly what I told you in my first paragraph about him above; namely, that the real danger was not Communism, but the bigotry and intolerance of the anti-Communists. I know, because a close friend of our family who heard him—and she is as fine a woman and as patriotic an American as you will ever meet—took it on herself shortly thereafter to give me something of a lecture on my attitude towards the Communists. She said this attitude was perhaps too harsh, and probably unfair to some people who were merely progressive. And her lecture was based, as she proudly informed me, on what she had recently learned from a wonderful speaker, named Gordon Hall—who was himself strongly anti-Communist, however, because he had said so several times in his speech.

Now, as I pointed out in the beginning of this section, there are many of these birds racing around over the country, actually promoting Communism, by making the task of the anti-Communist more difficult, every night. And we could silence them with comparative ease. All it would take in Gordon Hall's case would be to send about three people to his "lectures" (but a different three each night), have them sit apart and show no connection with each other, and let each of them ask a question during his question-and-answer period.

"Mr. Hall. According to this printed record, you once spent several months passing out anti-Semitic literature. Is that true?"

As soon as he finishes squirming out of this one, another questioner arises.

"Mr. Hall. According to this announcement of your speech, obviously based on information you yourself gave the program chairman, you worked for a while for the XYZ Agency. But I have here a published statement I hap-

pened to run across, in which Mr. X says that you never worked for the XYZ Agency at all or in any capacity. Is Mr. X mistaken?"

For a speaker like Gordon Hall, before the kind of audiences which employ him, it is quite difficult to refuse to allow a question-and-answer period. Let the barrage indicated above go on for a few nights, during that period, and Gordon Hall may still be finding some other way to serve Communist purposes, but it will not be as a speaker, and probably not half as effective in its results. Stopping the damage done by speakers like Gordon Hall is not really too hard, if anybody cares. But there, as in so many other ways and activities, we are simply letting the Communists win by default.[16]

8. We would line up a large list of speakers ourselves, all over the country—and there are plenty available—who would be willing to speak to these comparatively small audiences, for small fees or no fees, not on Communism or anti-Communism in general, but on specific subjects; who could make speeches which thus would be informative and well received, but which could still carry a strong anti-Communist message. This, like everything else we are talking about, is a matter of planning, supervision, and control.

Then we would go to work putting together the huge lists of church clubs, PTA groups, and others who use such speakers, and start making known to them who was available on what subjects. Most of the speakers' bureaus and lecture agencies are not utilized by such groups to any great extent, because neither side can afford it. Which leaves the doors wide open for the Communists to send in their men or their friends. It's another game at which we ought to beat them hands down.[17]

9. Now this is certainly not intended to be a comprehensive list. If so, it would last for days. Not only have we

barely started on the measures that need to be taken, energetically and promptly. When it comes to the number and variety of activities through which the Communists are ceaselessly working, we have hardly scratched the surface by the countermeasures suggested. But we have to be practical. And so, regretfully, I am going to skip any discussion of other actions, classifiable and nonclassifiable, defensive and offensive, which leap to mind, except for the two major categories of effort which complete this series. And those two I'll merely outline or indicate, because anything approaching proper coverage of either would take entirely too long.

Ninth and current in this listing, therefore, would be our undertakings on the international front. For many reasons we would start extending our body into other countries, as soon as there were energy and resources which could properly be spared for that purpose.

And please note that I said body, not organization. There is a huge difference, as I hope to make clear in the morning. An organization is a collection of individuals or groups held together more or less loosely and more or less temporarily by a common interest or common objective. A body, in the sense I am using it because it is the closest I can find to a word to express my concept, is an organic entity.

The Americans for Democratic Action is an organization. The Catholic Church is a body. The Republican Party is an organization. The Communist Party is a body, which can move and work and make itself effective as an entity. We shall return to this whole thought and its importance in the morning. Let's leave it now that we would have our body grow across national boundaries as soon as we properly could.

In the meantime other worthwhile goals would be the setting up, or helping to set up, one by one and very carefully, of governments-in-exile out of the most respected and solidly anti-Communist refugees from the satellite nations.

Or, if in some instances there were no refugee leader available in this country, with sufficient prestige and acceptability among his own people back home to justify his being made the head of a government-in-exile, we could serve the same purpose in those cases by establishing "revolutionary committees."

If these leaders could be given, or helped to obtain, the core of an organization—and please note that, in connection with anything political, organization is the right word—then those governments-in-exile or revolutionary committees could put new courage into the hearts of millions behind the Iron Curtain. They are millions whose despair, largely brought about by the actions of our government over the past several years, is today one of the greatest assets of the Communist conspiracy. Such governments-in-exile would also be rallying points for a far more energetic opposition to Communist maneuvers and propaganda in this country, on the part of refugees who have become almost fatally frightened and discouraged since 1953.[18]

10. Finally, and probably most important of all these courses of action, we would put our weight into the political scales in this country just as fast and far as we could. For unless we can eventually, and in time, reverse by political action the gradual surrender of the United States to Communism, the ultimate alternative of reversal by military uprising is fearful to contemplate.

Now there is one thing to which any intelligent patriotic American might as well make up his mind at once. This is that the thorough and painstaking organization and work at the precinct levels, which wins elections, is not going to be done and can't be done by the Republican Party. It can be done in one state, under the personal leadership and management of a Barry Goldwater for his own campaign. It might have been done in California by Bill Knowland, if he could have got himself disconnected from his "modern-

Republican" duties as minority leader of the Senate in time, and if he had known what he was up against. But it cannot be done nationally by the present Republican Party, nor by anything that can come out of the present shattered Republican Party in the foreseeable future. And it cannot be accomplished through the leadership, drive, and loyalty-inspiring qualities of any candidate for the presidency, because there simply isn't time between the conventions and the elections.

This doesn't mean that the Republican Party cannot win elections, including possibly the next presidential election, please understand. It does mean that, especially if the Republican Party then stands nationally for any Americanist principles whatsoever, it cannot win *unless* it has strong help and backing from forces outside of the straight political organization—such as the Democratic Party has on the other side in Walter Reuther's Committee on Political Education.

In my opinion, not even the Democratic Party, which, for all of its bitter internal splits, remains a far more disciplined and unified organization for campaign purposes than the Republican Party, can carry out any such precinct activities precisely directed at a national aim. There are too many local candidates and local issues for its precinct leaders and their bosses to think about. Which is why the most effective work towards one clearly defined national goal and policy is now being done by Reuther's COPE; and the Democrats are winning elections because he picks so many of their candidates, and they are the beneficiaries of his tremendous organizational reach and resources.

We are at a stage, Gentlemen, where the only sure political victories are achieved by non-political organization; by organization which has a surer, more positive, and more permanent purpose than the immediate political goals that are only means to an end; by organization which has a backbone, and cohesiveness, and strength, and definiteness

of direction, which are impossible for the old-style political party organization. It is to be noted, and is extremely important, that the AFL-CIO under Walter Reuther's increasing domination is gradually being converted from an *organization* to a *body,* in the senses I have distinguished above.

We would have to move into this field, Gentlemen, with a body of our own. What's more, we would have to move ahead of Reuther in strength that can be applied to this purpose, as rapidly as possible. Nobody knows, and there is no way of finding out, how many millions of dollars Reuther spent in the last election, nor how many tens of thousands of precinct workers he was able to put on the job. But with a million men and the resources consistent with the dedication of those men which we are presupposing, we could move in on the elections thereafter with both more man power and more resources than Reuther will be able to marshal by that time.[19]

Fantastic? Of course it's fantastic. But everything I am talking is fantastic. We are living in fantastic times and a fantastic situation. The alternative to sufficiently fantasic measures and efforts is a fate of fantastic suffering for our children, and the equally fantastic loss of a whole humane civilization that has cost countless sacrifices, immeasurable labor, and an infinite number of noble dreams across centuries in the building. We are in circumstances where it is *realistic* to be *fantastic.* I was careful to bring into this group only men of sufficient intelligence and imagination to understand that paradox. And tomorrow morning I hope to make the realism of this afternoon's hypothesis and these proposals at least as believable as is the almost unbelievable present power of the forces of evil arrayed against us.

May you have a good dinner, a little surcease from such serious thoughts, and a good night's sleep in the meantime.[20]

Footnotes for the Fourth Printing

7. We were not able to get this category of effort under way as early as we had hoped. But we do now have several of these reading rooms already functioning, with others being established in many areas. And we believe that after this slow start their number and usefulness will rapidly increase.

8. The correct name of this excellent organization is Association of American Physicians and Surgeons. Since the paragraph identified by this note was written I have had the pleasure of speaking at an annual convention of the AAPS. There I learned that the figures as to its total membership are never given out; and that the number I have quoted is unauthorized and probably incorrect. I do not now remember just who gave me this information, but I do apologize to both the AAPS and our readers for the error as to both name and total membership. It is the only factual error, large or small, that anybody has yet been able to point out, anywhere in the Blue Book. But even one mistake is too many.

9. We have not yet made as much progress in this category as we should have liked, but we have made some and are now steadily making more. The recent rapid growth in circulation and influence of our own magazine, *American Opinion*, is the most encouraging development in this field of activity.

10. Of course where television programs "on our side" can be profitably supported by commercial sponsorship, as in the case of Dan Smoot's broadcasts, they are immensely helpful. What we are talking about in the indicated paragraphs are television programs which would have to be supported by voluntary contributions. And it is still our opinion that, as a general rule, such programs are too expensive against other beneficial uses of the same money—as for instance, in the radio broadcasts of Dean Manion, or Billy James Hargis, or Carl McIntire, or several other great Americanists with a huge radio following.

11. Naturally, this was the easiest category of effort in which to get started. And our members have done a tremendous job, in proportion to their numbers at any given time, in some fifty letter-writing campaigns to date. Our most visibly successful effort, although of relatively minor importance, was in making *Newsweek* magazine back down and admit they had been completely wrong in a distorted article which they had run on the French Red Hand. Our most important impact has been in getting over six hundred thousand postcards and letters into the mails, opposing the second Summit Conference. (We believe our making obvious such extensive and articulate opposition to the proposed surrender of American interests, which had visibly been planned for this Summit Conference, had at least something to do with the abortion of the Conference that took place in Paris.) Our most complete failure to

date was in our campaign to get the airlines to put *Human Events,* or any truly Americanist periodical in the reading racks of their planes. But we have merely lost one round in that fight, and there is another one coming up.

For a number of reasons which we believe to be sound, and although we do sometimes undertake a barrage of letters to congressmen or to a wider grouping which may include congressmen, we devote only a quite small percentage of our letter-writing efforts to communications to legislators. We feel that usually, with our present size and at this stage of the fight, we can actually accomplish a great deal more by firing our letters as bullets at other targets on the total front. And maybe even that figure of speech is not too good, for about one-third of all our letters are laudatory of some leader or some action "on our side." They are designed to give courage, and a feeling of being appreciated, to those who already are bearing the brunt of the battle against our collectivist enemies.

12. This is a committee which we still very much want to set up, as soon as we can spare the time, energy, and resources to do so.

13. This front was an excellent idea. Some of our friends put a lot of work into preparations to give it a great deal of impact. And we still do not know whether the chain of circumstances which caused our work to be abortive was accidental or smoothly planned by the enemy. But the story is too long to retell here.

14. Our members have been the moving spirits in forming a considerable number of small "fronts," some national but most of them local, which have been quite effective in connection with specific objectives. Our one large national front to date, however, and by far our most successful effort in this category, has been the Committee Against Summit Entanglements.

This committee was originally organized for the purpose of getting petitions signed and forwarded to the President, urging him not to go to the Summit Conference when it was originally scheduled for July, 1959. The Society had just got its first few chapters formed when the forthcoming conference was first announced in April, 1959. Nevertheless, we took up the plan outlined a page or two beyond this footnote marker, got all of the outside help we could, and went to work. By the end of July we had seventy thousand petitions being circulated (or already turned in with signatures), each one designed for twenty names. And we probably had about a million signatures available with which to bombard the White House with "Please, Mr. President, Don't Go!" At that point it was announced that the Summit Conference had been postponed until November, after Mr. Khrushchev and President Eisenhower would have exchanged visits to each other in their respective countries. It was further announced that Mr. Khrushchev, visiting us first, would arrive in the United States around the middle of September.

This seemed to us worse than the proposed Summit Conference itself. We immediately enlarged the committee, and went to work to prepare copy, obtain the approval of the signatories, and raise the money for full-page advertisements in newspapers across the country, protesting and trying to stop the Khrushchev visit. Both a copy of that advertisement and a partial list of the papers in which it appeared are included at the end of this volume.

At that time we were still very small, and we had to work very fast. We believe that if, at the beginning of the campaign, we had been our present size, or if we had only two more weeks in which to build up the mushrooming protest, we would have been able to get the invitation to Khrushchev withdrawn. The time pressure in our then quite small office was terrific. At one point we had on hand what later proved to be about twenty thousand dollars which we were unable to use for three full days, because nobody could get to the job of processing the hundreds of small checks that were involved, so that they could be deposited. (We later sent an accounting, certified by a nationally known firm of public accountants, to every contributor for every dollar received.)

We were not able to stop Khrushchev from coming. But both our contributors and we ourselves felt that the effort had been very much worthwhile. For one thing, we brought home to millions of Americans, in a manner and at a time to get their attention, the real nature of this man Khrushchev and the significance of his visit. Our protest certainly had a great deal to do with the fact that his tour of our country, instead of being the triumphal procession which had been planned and expected, was so dismal a failure up until he reached San Francisco as to have caused him to threaten in Los Angeles to call off the whole thing and go home. (In his speech in Moscow, reporting on his trip immediately after his return, he paid his respects to our committee by saying that he had been in the United States with mixed emotions because people had been putting large advertisements in the newspapers objecting to his visit.) And our protest certainly had something to do with the fact that President Eisenhower called off his return visit, and the Summit Conference itself was postponed again, this time until May.

Our next undertaking in this category, of equal size and importance, is the recently begun movement to impeach Chief Justice Earl Warren. While this movement has been started as a direct activity of the Society, with other patriotic groups asked to support the movement in all ways and to whatever extent they are willing, it will probably become a national front movement in due course, with members of The John Birch Society simply participating—to whatever extent they, as individuals, may wish—on exactly the same terms as anybody else.

Also, here again, we have many purposes in mind. One, and most important, is actually to get Earl Warren arraigned by the House of Representatives. And since to say this is impossible is, in actuality, to say Communist influences are now already so powerful and so en-

trenched that we have no chance of turning them back, such defeatism is no part of the thinking or attitude of The John Birch Society. We merely recognize how big the job is, go right ahead working on it, and expect other good citizens to keep falling in line behind us. But at the same time we have expected the Movement to Impeach Earl Warren to serve as an extremely effective medium through which to educate or awaken huge numbers of our fellow citizens to the differences between a democracy and a republic, to the unceasing efforts to break our republic down into that footstool of tyrants known as a democracy, to the part this whole process plays in the plans of the Communists, and to the unceasing help Chief Justice Warren has given the Communists in those plans. And another purpose is to show Congress, in an impressive fashion, something of the feeling that exists against the Court's unchecked seizure of power at the expense of our legislative bodies.

15. For the first eighteen months after the Society was founded we were entirely too busy to give any attention to *American Opinion* beyond what was needed to turn out a good magazine every month. And although our total paid subscription list has now doubled within the past six months, and our additional sale of special numbers and reprints has increased even more, we are still a long way from having the medium required for the kind of impact discussed in this chapter.

Nevertheless we have made a start in the direction indicated, in our articles devoted to Cyrus Eaton, Harry Overstreet, and others. We haven't charged that any of these people are Communists, but we have laid it out straight as to how much their actions have helped the Communist cause. And we intend to continue turning our searchlight on similar hazy characters and their even hazier activities.

16. We are still defaulting. And nothing shows more clearly how incredibly crowded we have been during the past two years.

17. In some parts of the country our Coordinators and/or our members have made a lot of progress in this category of effort. And our Home Office has also been able to help materially in supplying speakers, tape recordings, film showings, and similar presentations for audiences of all kinds. We are a long way from having the organized national service available as contemplated in this section. But we are making appreciable progress toward it, and helping out all we can in the meantime.

18. We have already been under considerable pressure to start chapters of the Society in several foreign countries. We have authorized some people in some of those countries to use our material simply as a guide, in setting up some similar but entirely separate local organization. And we might, at some future date, absorb such organizations, if satisfactory in every way, right into The John Birch Society. But so far the sparing of time, energy, or resources, for international organizing efforts or even for a minimum of supervision of such efforts by others, has been out of the question.

With regard to refugee groups in this country we have been able in some cases to be of some help and encouragement. And we hope to do a great deal more, along the lines projected in this section, as we acquire the necessary size and organization.

19. In the 1960 campaigns The John Birch Society, as an organization, took no part. Our official job was to supply our members more information about, and a better understanding of, both men and issues, to the best of our ability. Each member then worked and voted entirely according to his own judgment and conscience.

Unofficially and as individuals our members were quite active in the campaigns. I personally supported Goldwater for the Republican nomination. About two-thirds of our Republican and Independent members did the same, while about one-third supported Nixon. (We supplied a list of the convention delegates, impartially of course, to them all.) After the Republican Convention neither the Society nor I personally took any position in the campaign. We merely pointed out in our bulletins, as objectively as we possibly could, what seemed to us to be the significance and the probable effect of various possible ways of voting in November—from simply staying home, all the way through the protest combinations, to voting either straight ticket. Most of us were not happy about the results, but there has been very little to make us happy, on the political scene in this country, for twenty-seven years. That's one reason why there is a John Birch Society, and why we hope to increase our impact tremendously on the political scene, through education of others and dedication of ourselves, in 1962 and especially by 1964.

20. Near the beginning of this whole section we said: "Here are some of the things we would do." In actual practice, as the Society and its work grew, we have found any number of specific jobs, and even whole categories of effort, not listed here, in which we could immediately be of some help, and perhaps eventually a lot of help, to the Americanist cause. It would take too much space to describe these efforts here, and at this point we certainly do not like to put ourselves in the position of book salesmen for our own wares. But for anybody who does have both enough money and enough interest simultaneously, the White Book of The John Birch Society for 1960 is available for five dollars. It is a bound compilation of all of our monthly bulletins issued during the year, and hence will give any reader a comprehensive view of what we were trying to do, and how, and why, during 1960.

SECTION FIVE

Under Positive Leadership . . .

Yesterday morning we began with the scoreboard, showing the present level of Communist advance. Then we looked at the two underlying trends, the progress of the disease of collectivism and the loss of real faith, which in the long run could be more fatal than the onslaught of the Communist conspiracy. In the afternoon we began another look at the same things, with remedial action in mind rather than diagnosis. We outlined some needed steps for facing up to the Communist threat.

This morning, in continuing that retracing of our footsteps, we come first to the cancer of collectivism; to the question of how to stop its further ravages, and how to restore the American body politic to good health, renewed strength, and as much promise for the future as is possible in view of the damage already done. And that, Gentlemen, brings me to one of the basic purposes for which this meeting was called. It is one which I approach with great humility, but with no misgivings as to its necessity.

For we simply are not going to be able to save our country from either the immediate threat of Communism, or the long-range threat of socialism, by organizational leadership. Our only possible chance is dynamic personal leadership. Let me begin with an illustration of the difference which also supports the argument.

In 1952 I disagreed with Bob Taft on at least three of his ten most important political principles. Especially with regard to federal housing and United States government aid to Israel I was diametrically opposed to policies he advocated. Yet I made twenty-five radio speeches for Taft, in the primary campaign, on my own time and my own

money. Nor was this done at all on the let's-take-the-lesser-of-two-evils theory. I was wholeheartedly and enthusiastically for Taft, for the nomination and the presidency, because I trusted him and he was going generally in my direction. The fact that he didn't see two or three issues out of ten the way I saw them didn't dampen the energy of my personal support for him in the slightest.

But, if and when I am a member of any organization, political or otherwise, and there is disagreement on the part of any sizable percentage of the membership as to three out of ten of the organization's policies or planks, a splintering of the organization into two groups is almost inevitable. In eastern Massachusetts there was quite a live and energetic outfit of some seven hundred members, called the Friends of Senator McCarthy. I have seen another organization called American Patriots splinter off from the original one, and then resplinter into a larger and smaller group, while the remnant of the first organization went to pieces. But if McCarthy were still alive, and if all the members of the organization had to agree on was *support of a personal leader,* there would probably be a thousand working members of that organization today—despite exactly the same basic disagreements over various principles between them.

When Frank Lausche, running as a Democrat, was elected governor of Ohio the last time, there must have been hundreds of thousands of Ohio Democrats who voted for him despite their vigorous disagreement with him over his support of Taft and of the Taft-Hartley Act. But if the Democratic Party of Ohio, an organization, had tried to take a position in support of the Taft-Hartley Act, it would have split the Party wide open and have made it practically useless in the campaign. Personal leadership holds together a following in the way that organizational leadership never can.

Now we are surfeited in this country today with organi-

zations opposing Communism or socialism. Leave out of consideration for the minute the extent to which they are handicapped by being almost entirely defensive. For while Napoleon was quite correct when he said that the purely defensive is doomed to defeat, that is another part of our story which we are coming to later. The point here is that none of these organizations alone, nor all of them together, nor all of them even if they were combined into one organization without initial loss of total strength, has any possibility of stopping the enemy.

Most of them, frankly, do not have any possibility of even enough piecemeal accomplishment in the total fight to justify the money and energy expended on them. For usually there is no sufficiently inspired personal leadership of the organization itself to obtain the great unanimity of purpose, efficiency, and enthusiasm which are necessary in connection with the expenditure of resources. And of course the one central direction and coordination of all of these groups, which is so vital to avoid waste, is entirely lacking. What is more, even if all of the seven hundred known groups could be and were combined into one organization, for the very purpose of obtaining centralized coordination, this central direction and coordination would still be lacking, or grossly inefficient and insufficient, so long as the combine was run as an organization.

Only if the members of these groups declared allegiance to, came to feel an unshakable loyalty for, and thus accepted direction from, a dynamic personal leader; only under these conditions would there be any possibility of the members of these groups, and of all other Americans who feel basically as they do, supplying what is needed. That is, the strength and dedication which can turn back the Communists in front; and which, with the benefit of the momentum thus gained, can turn back the socialists behind the Communists. At present we are in the position of trying to defeat a disciplined well-armed expertly-commanded army

with a collection of debating societies. And it can't be done.

Before we leave this point, let's use an illustration. And you pick it. You simply take in your own mind some patriotic organization you know about or perhaps in which you participate. Let's call it the XYZ Association. And no matter which one of the anti-Communist or anti-socialist groups you select, the chances are that the good citizens who put it together are friends of mine. They almost certainly are dedicated patriots who deserve our gratitude, and our praise. And I not only wish for them and their organization all possible success, but will help in any way I can towards increasing their effectiveness.

But let's be realistic. Ask yourself honestly about whatever organization you have in mind: Where is it going? Even if there were any clear consensus of opinion within the organization itself as to where it wanted to go, how much continued drive and concerted effort to that end do you think could be maintained. Who's going to die for XYZ Association, or the Blank Committee? We are fast coming to a point, Gentlemen, where we've got to offer something that people are willing to die for. And only over long periods of time, and then in rare instances, do you generate and maintain loyalty for an organization that is even in the same league with loyalty for an individual.

"But," you may say, "look at the success, at the terrific influence that has been exercized, by some of the organizations on the other side. Such as the ADA for instance—the Americans for Democratic Action." But the ADA, whether a lot of its members know it or not, is the same as an arm of the Communist Party. Its weight can be thrown, and is thrown, time after time, with never an exception, in support of Communist objectives. It has the benefit of the direction of a nerve system of that body which runs all the way to the top.

But what is the XYZ Association an arm of, or the Blank Committee? It's a lonesome boy standing on the beach with

a big broom, trying to brush back the waves that are about to flood the whole shoreline of beautiful houses. There are other boys with brooms and shovels and buckets all up and down the beach, doing the same thing. What is not only needed, but is absolutely imperative, is for some hardboiled, dictatorial, and dynamic boss to come along and deliver himself approximately as follows:

"Hey, you guys, *all of you,* drop those pretty brooms. You fellows down there on the end, start running for empty bags, and keep bringing more empty bags as fast as you can find them; make 'em out of sheets and tablecloths if you have to, or, get 'em any other way. Just get 'em! You fellows in those next two groups, start filling those bags with sand. You men here, all of you, start lugging those bags of sand to put on this wall the Communists have busted up so badly. And don't spare your backs. Build it high and build it quick, even if it is only with sandbags for the present.

"You fellows, over there, all of you, get the heaviest clubs you can find, spread yourselves out no more thinly than you have to along the whole length of this wall, and don't hesitate to break the heads of any saboteurs you find monkeying with it. Don't even hesitate to break the heads of those you find creeping towards the wall, if you are sure of their evil intentions, just as a warning to the rest of the dirty gang. If everybody puts everything he's got into the job without stopping to argue, we'll be able to save these beautiful houses from this incoming flood. We'll not have just ruins left, no longer worth saving, when it recedes.

"But the minute we have the sandbags high enough, all of you fellows get to work at once bringing rocks and cement, and rebuilding this whole wall both higher and solider than it ever was before. Then, the next time a combination of tide, storm, and saboteurs comes in, we'll be ready for them. And once all of this is done, you can again start enjoying those beautiful homes you will have saved."

Human nature being what it is, there is no question about how much more energetically, determinedly, or confidently the men on the beach would work under such leadership; nor about how many more men would immediately be attracted to rebuilding the wall, and breaking the heads of the saboteurs, under such direction. But, Gentlemen, if you are going to wait for those boys and men with the brooms to form an *association* for rebuilding the wall, and for it then to be repaired and guarded under organizational and committee control, you might as well start telling the Communists to stake out their claims on the ruins of the former beautiful houses right now.

But that figure of speech has outlived its usefulness, so let's get down to plain language again. Let's look briefly at the possibility, the advantages, and the disadvantages, of finding this desperately needed leader in the political field. And the easiest way to do this is to conduct the discussion around some individual from the very start.

Now the one man who comes nearest to measuring up to all the needs and qualifications, whom we see on the political horizon at the present time, is Barry Goldwater. I know Barry fairly well. He is a great American. As I foresaw a year ago how the Reutherite Left would concentrate national strength and resources on the Arizona campaign, and how important money from outside Arizona would be towards enabling Goldwater to meet that attack adequately, I took it on myself to become a one-man finance committee for him in Massachusetts. I raised around two thousand dollars in my state and sent it on to him early in 1958.

Now two thousand dollars isn't much, but Massachusetts is a long way from Arizona, and the so-called uppercrust of Eastern Massachusetts are probably the most provincially and smugly ignorant of what is really happening today of any similar group in the United States. At any rate, through the efforts of a lot of other people in other states, who

either had or were given the same idea, Barry had enough money, and had it early enough, to put on a bang-up, professional campaign; one that was successful—for a Republican in a strongly Democratic state—against everything Walter Reuther could throw at him.

Barry Goldwater has political know-how and the painstaking genius to use that know-how with regard to infinite details. He is a superb political organizer, and inspires deep and lasting loyalty. He is absolutely sound in his Americanism, has the political and moral courage to stand by his Americanist principles, and in my opinion can be trusted to stand by them until hell freezes over. I'd love to see him president of the United States, and maybe some day we shall.

But—does anybody in this room think there is any slightest chance of Barry Goldwater supplying the dynamic *overall* leadership needed to save this country for anybody to be president of? If so, I think he is still not fully aware of the nature and totality of the forces at work. For Goldwater, by the very circumstances of his political success, present prestige, and the expectations of his supporters, will inevitably think and move in terms of *political* warfare.[21] Even if he personally should reach the point and the understanding of wanting to consider political action as just a part, no matter how important, of much broader overall action, how much chance do you think there is that his friends and supporters would let him step out of the strictly political role in which he has been so successful? How much chance is there that they would let him build and utilize forceful leadership on all of the other fronts where we must fight the Communists? How many of the steps which we discussed yesterday afternoon, and which I am sure must be taken if we are to have any chance at all, do you think you could count on Barry Goldwater's leadership to bring about, no matter how much he was beseeched, and no matter how much he himself came to feel inclined, to do so?

Or let's go at it another way. Suppose you feel that the political factor in the equation is so important that it overweighs all of the others. And that if we could get a man like Barry Goldwater nominated and elected president—or Bill Knowland or Bill Jenner or any one of a dozen others for that matter—by 1960 or even maybe by 1964—the power of the presidency in the hands of such a man would be enough to save our country. Do you think that by strictly political means and without the help of all of the other efforts on all of the other fronts, there would be the slightest chance of bringing this about? That with the present shattered condition of the Republican Party, and the grip of the leftists inside both parties on various pieces of those parties, there is going to be any slightest chance of getting a solid, courageous, uncompromising Americanist nominated by either party—unless there are huge compelling forces at work *outside* of the parties which are not affected by the ubiquitous *opportunism inside* the parties? If anybody in this room believes, that with the slowing down of the rapidly rising Communist influence left to the *organizations* in the field and with the restoring of Republicanism in the Republican Party left to the politicians, there is the slightest chance of our having anything but a left-wing president in 1961, then I would be greatly surprised. We've been counting on that kind of salvation, and hence going steadily down the drain, for twenty years.

Or, more for the other illustrative points that will arise than for any hopes offered by the prospect, let's look at Richard Nixon in this connection. He is an extremely smart man. He is one of the ablest, shrewdest, most disingenuous, and slipperiest politicians that ever showed up on the American scene. He can sit in Washington one night and convince some of the most "modern" Republicans that he is the best ball-carrier they have, and spend four hours in the Waldorf Towers the next day convincing MacArthur and Herbert Hoover that he is their man. He can use the

tremendously over-rated and over-publicized but actually highly cautious part he played in the Alger Hiss exposure, to hang onto the hopeful loyalty of the vigorous anti-Communists, at the very time when he is insinuating himself into the good graces of the Left by quietly knifing McCarthy.

Nixon could pose as a conservative Republican congressman, and yet be one of the original founders, in 1950, of Republican Advance. This was intended to be, not the Republican opposition to, but the Republican teammate of, Americans for Democratic Action; and it even had some interlocking left-wingers who were members of both groups.

Nixon can claim still to be vigorously anti-Communist. Yet when he has a chance, as vice-president, to break the tie and cast the decisive vote for HR3, to reestablish some chance of prosecution of subversives actually advocating violent overthrow of our government, what happens? He moves heaven and earth to have Wallace Bennett found and pressured into voting against HR3, defeating the measure, so that the vice-president will not have to vote.

What good would such a man be to us, even as president, unless outside forces and accomplishments made it opportunistic and expedient for him to ride an anti-Communist wave which those outside forces had created? As for being a leader, the sad truth, hard for many hopeful and wishful conservative Republicans to realize, is that Richard Nixon, a most engaging personality and clever politician, has never been a *leader* in connection with any event or development, or at any stage in his career. He has been a rider of waves, so far as public support was concerned, without caring whether the particular wave at any given time was moving left or right; and a manipulator, of uncanny skill, behind the scenes.

Nixon always brings to my mind the old gag that a wife is a person who helps you to get over all the troubles you wouldn't have had if you had never married; or the somewhat more elegant version that diplomats help us to solve

our problems that never would have arisen if there were no diplomats. But for the dirtiest deal in American political history, participated in if not actually engineered by Richard Nixon in order to make himself vice-president (and to put Warren on the Supreme Court as part of that deal), Taft would have been nominated at Chicago in 1952. It is almost certain that Taft would then have been elected president by a far greater plurality than was Eisenhower, that a grand rout of the Communists in our government and in our midst would have been started, that McCarthy would be alive today, and that we wouldn't even be in this mess that we are supposed to look to Nixon to lead us out of.

And in appraising Richard Nixon's character, nobody should overlook the vicious undercover knifing of Bill Knowland by Nixon's men in California in the campaign just finished. And this is not surmise, Gentlemen, but definite fact, observed at first hand, by stalwart Republicans in California, some of whom were personal friends of Nixon and at first just could not believe what they were seeing. They came to believe it all right, for Nixon was determined to get rid of Knowland once and for all, and at any cost, as a possible contender for control of the California delegation and for the nomination in 1960. This, despite the fact that from the day Nixon landed in Washington as a freshman congressman, nobody had been nicer to him or helped him in more ways than the well-loved senator from his own state, Bill Knowland.

Now please do not project my remarks about Nixon beyond their intended purpose. He *may* be the best bet we have for the Republican standard bearer in 1960, who has any chance of getting the nomination. He would be far better than Nelson Rockefeller. For while I think Nixon would ride any wave to the right or left that seemed likely to carry him farthest, I don't think he would be committed to personally helping to make the wave go left—as I think Nelson Rockefeller would be. I think Nixon could become a

very patriotic anti-Communist if we could create circumstances in which it would be smart politics to be one; whereas I think Nelson Rockefeller would fight for further movement towards the internationalist Left under any and all circumstances.

I think Nelson Rockefeller is definitely committed to trying to make the United States a part of a one-world socialist government, while I don't think Nixon is committed to anything other than the career of Richard Nixon. In that, he is neither better nor worse than most other politicians, merely smarter. I can foresee possibilities where every one of us would work for him and vote for him in 1960, despite what I have said—as if, for instance, he were the Republican candidate against Walter Reuther or even Reuther's stooge, Jack Kennedy, on the Democratic ticket. For this reason I do not intend to put those remarks about Nixon on any tape recording I might make from these notes. But I have made them here in this really inner-circle group in order to emphasize the wisdom of the old advice: "Put not your faith in politicians." We shall have to use politicians, support politicians, create politicians, and help the best ones we can find to get elected. I am thoroughly convinced, however, that we cannot count on politicians, political leadership, or even political action except as a part of something much deeper and broader to save us.

Now I didn't always feel that way. And I think that, up to the time the nomination was stolen from Bob Taft in 1952, it was still possible to have saved our country, from the immediate Communist danger, anyway, primarily by political action. And up until a few months ago I was still giving some thought to starting some quiet but strong non-political organizing for political purposes right in Massachusetts, with a view to either capturing the Republican nomination for the Senate from Saltonstall in 1960 or running as an Independent as circumstances then indicated. The further idea was to try to go to the United States Senate,

by supreme effort to that end, and there make such contribution as one outspoken senator could towards stemming the tide. But my study of the whole picture convinced me more and more that: (1) No one outspoken senator, nor a dozen outspoken senators, and no amount of the ephemeral political support they might muster, could possibly save our country unless there was, encompassing them and their efforts and support, this far larger and broader movement to which I keep referring; (2) that there was not going to be any such movement without the dynamic overall personal leadership to which I have also been referring; and (3) that, with all of my own shortcomings, there wasn't anybody else on the horizon willing to give their whole lives to the job, with the determination and dedication I would put into it, if I didn't.

What really moved me to cross this Rubicon, however, the consideration which more than any other gradually brought me the necessary measure of courage and determination for so staggering an undertaking, was another result of many years of study, of not only the present but the past. This is the conviction that even warding off Communist slavery and reversing the socialist trend is only half the battle. We can never win even that half unless both leadership and following have a positive dream which is more important as a hope than the negative nightmare is as a fear; unless the promise of what we can build supplies more motivation than the terror of what we must destroy; and unless this faith in the future is based on a deeper faith in eternal truths.

The nature of these truths and the tenets of this faith, which I hope and believe every man in this room can accept and approve, I shall come to later this morning. What I am trying to do here, as an introduction to, and part of, our thinking about how to rid America of the collectivist cancer, is simply this: I want to convince you, as I am convinced, that only dynamic *personal* leadership offers any

chance for us to save either our material or our spiritual inheritance. I want to convince you, as I am convinced, that even under such leadership we have no chance unless the specific battles are fought *as part of a larger and more lasting movement to restore once again an upward reach to the heart of man.* And I have wished to make clear, what you were bound to be assuming already, that with whatever I have in me, of faith, dedication, and energy, I intend to offer that leadership to all who are willing to help me.[22]

Footnotes for the Fourth Printing

21. The prophetic precision of this paragraph and of the following one, both written in 1958, was proved in 1960. We are sorry to say.

22. This plea for personal loyalty is always embarrassing for me to make before any group—or in print or film or tape—as it would be for any other man of conscience and common sense. Yet it is as necessary and as important as had been foreseen when plans for the Society were first being formed. For this personal loyalty is the cement that holds The John Birch Society together, while other groups crumble around us. Without it The John Birch Society would already have broken up on any one of a half dozen rocks in our course, or already have been blown to pieces by torpedoes fired at us by the enemy. It is the cohesive force that reaches across passing doubts and disagreements, welding temporary doubters and enthusiasts alike into one permanent body of men and women unshakably dedicated to the Society and its basic purposes.

SECTION SIX

To Restore Responsibility...

With that much explanation as background, let's see what basic principle we can establish and what specific objective we can define, with regard to the particular battle against collectivism, which would be sure to fit into and be encompassed by our general overall permanent purpose—although that total spiritual aspiration is as yet only foreshadowed. For thus making sharp and clear one part of our philosophy and program, where a concrete area of action is involved, will itself help to build a better understanding of the whole.

And it seems to me, Gentlemen, that the whole essence of our purpose, and the guiding principle for our action, covering not only our fight *against* collectivism but our fight *for* our constructive replacement, can be summarized in the objective expressed by just five words: *Less government and more responsibility.* The principle is simple enough for all to understand. The direction signs leading to the goal expressed are clear enough for nobody to misjudge them. An honest adherence to that principle and those directions, against which to test either candidates or issues, will settle in the minds of our followers and ourselves almost all questions which may arise, concerning *either* candidates or issues, in the field of political effort. And yet it is broad enough, I believe, to be comprehensive with regard to all that we really desire to attain through political action.

Less government and more responsibility. I mean less government of every kind, federal, state, or municipal; and more true responsibility, not only on the part of individuals but on the part of such reduced governmental units as are necessarily permitted to exist. But of course I mean, primarily, less federal government, because that is where our

greatest danger lies; and more individual responsibility, because that is our greatest need.

And now I want to give you some of the arguments and the reasoning by which we must try to inculcate this fundamental principle of less government and more responsibility into the minds of our contemporaries and successors. For we must try to make it a convincing political standard and an accepted goal on the part of not only our own dedicated followers, who go all the way with our principles and our ideals, of which this is only a segment. We must try to rally behind this concept thousands or possibly millions of anxious citizens who show a vital interest in their politically determined future, but are yet to be won to a dedication to ideals of more spiritual breadth.

So, again without your leave, I am going to utilize a few extracts from a talk I made a couple of years ago at a convocation of students and faculty of Dickinson College. I do so simply because, having put a lot of work into the preparation of that speech, I can cover the present ground more succinctly and quickly by quoting from it than in any other way. And this part is not long.

What we must start asking our fellow citizens everywhere to consider, as of overwhelming importance to the future of themselves and their families, is this: On the basis of all known past human experience, are there any general conclusions, with regard to the organization of society, which can be set forth with confidence? It seems to me clear that there certainly are.

1. First, government is necessary—some degree of government—in any civilized society. There are believers in the possibility and desirability of a governmentless anarchy, as a practicable form of human association. But the number of these advocates is comparatively very small, there is no evidence within human historical experience to support their thesis, and there is considerable evidence indicating otherwise.

2. Second, while government is necessary, it is basically a non-productive expense, an overhead cost supported by the productive economy. And like all overhead items, it always has a tendency to expand faster than the productive base which supports it.

3. Third, government is frequently evil. And we do not mean by this that they (governments) are merely dishonest. For all governments, with very rare exceptions indeed, are thoroughly dishonest. We made the statement in print, about two years ago, that there has never in the history of the world been a government (and this generalization includes our present one) that maintained honesty in the handling of a "managed" irredeemable currency. A few weeks later one of America's ablest and best-known economists quoted that statement with full approval.

But what we are talking about here is something far worse than dishonesty. In December, 1956, Professor Sorokin of Harvard—after quoting Lord Acton that great men, in the political arena, are almost always bad men—went on to reveal the results of his own survey of the criminality of rulers. This survey of the monarchs of various countries and the heads of various republics and democracies, in a selection large enough to constitute a very fair sample, revealed that there was an average of one murderer to every four of these rulers. "In other words," said Professor Sorokin, "the rulers of the states are the most criminal group in a respective population. With a limitation of their power their criminality tends to decrease; but it still remains exceptionally high in all nations."

An obvious reason for this is the greater temptation to criminality on the part of those who control or influence the police power of a nation, of which they would otherwise stand in more fear. Another is that ambitious men with criminal tendencies naturally gravitate into government because of this very prospect of doing, or helping to

do, the policing over themselves. A third reason is that so many apologists can always be found, for criminal acts of governments, on the grounds that such acts ultimately contribute to the public good and that therefore the criminal means are justified by the righteous ends. Kautilya wrote his *Arthashastra* in about 300 B.C. Machiavelli wrote his *Il Principe* in about 1500 A.D. And the arguments of both, that it is a virtue in a ruler to be unscrupulous for the good of his state, are heard in every age.

4. Fourth, government is always and inevitably an enemy of individual freedom. It seems rather strange that it was Woodrow Wilson, who more than any other one man started this nation on its present road toward totalitarianism, who also said that the history of human liberty is a history of the limitations of governmental power, not the increase of it. But Wilson could have boasted, as did Charles II of England, that he said only wise things even though he did only foolish ones. It is self-evident that government, by its very nature, *must* be an enemy of freedom, edging always towards a restriction of the individual's rights and responsibilities.

5. Whatever must be done by government will always cost more than if it could be done by individuals or smaller groups. And the larger the government, the more disproportionate will be the cost. Letting a government do anything, therefore, which such individuals or smaller groups could properly do, is serious economic wastefulness. It is also contrary to the philosophy of the proper function of government that is derived from the whole body of past experiments.

6. Government, by its size, its momentum, and its authority, will not only perpetuate errors of doctrine or of policy, longer than they would otherwise retain acceptance,

but it will multiply their effect on a geometric scale, as against the arithmetically cumulative effect of those errors if confined to individuals or smaller groups. The errors of tens of thousands of individuals, all thinking and probing in different directions and moved by different impulses, tend to cancel themselves out or to be softened by the attrition of doubt and disagreement. But let any one error become sanctified by government, and thus crystallized as truth, and little short of a revolution can discredit it or cause it to be discarded.

An easy illustration of this principle is the witch-craft terror in the early days of the colonial government of Massachusetts. If there had been no governmental power to give phantasmagoria the semblance of reality by official decree, the common sense of a majority of the citizens would have kept this manifestation of fanaticism from ever having such widespread support and cruel results. But one government had authoritatively said, "This is truth," then the hitherto doubting citizen was willing to join others like himself in accepting it as truth. And we have at least a dozen idiocies, equally repugnant to man's common sense and sound experience, being perpetuated by our government in Washington today.

7. As any society becomes reasonably settled, and shakes down into a semi-permanent pattern of economic and political life, and as some degree of leisure on the part of its citizens becomes both possible and visible, the drive always begins to have government become the management of the social enterprise rather than merely its agent for certain clear purposes. Government is then increasingly allowed, invited, and even urged to do planning for, and exercise control over, the total economy of the nation. Next, it is pushed, and pushes itself, more and more into planning and control of the separate activities of the citizens and groups of citizens that make up the economic life of the

nation. And in doing such planning and exercising such controls the government must assume more and more of the responsibility for the success of the economy and the welfare of its citizens.

Of course no government, short of being omniscient, can ever plan the specialized division of labor and the beneficial interchange of the various products of human efforts, or can ever appraise the impact of changing circumstances and changing desires on the infinite ramifications of interrelated human activity, one half as well as the planning, appraisal, and resulting corrections will be accomplished by a completely free market if given the opportunity. For the free market *automatically* weighs, measures, and integrates into its decisions increments of need, of difficulty, and of motivation, that are too small, too numerous, and too hidden for the planners ever to discover them. And the equations to be dealt with are too infinite to be resolved by any human brain or committee of human brains, even if all the variables and constants could be accurately set forth in such equations.

A government trying to step in and improve the workings of a free market is exactly like a man who takes a lighted lantern outdoors at noon of a bright June day to show you the sun. But a government's answer to any criticism as to the inadequacy of the lantern is always to bring more lanterns and then more lanterns—until eventually the smoke and glare of the lanterns so seriously interfere with and shut off the light of the sun that everybody actually has to work mainly by lantern light.

It is interesting to note, too, that in any society the government, and its allies who want to use the lanterns, always claim the justification that the society's economy is more complex than those which have preceded it. They insist that therefore the lanterns of planning and control are necessary and helpful now, no matter how futile and harmful they have been shown to be in the past. Of course exactly

the opposite is true. The more complex the economic life of a nation becomes; the more nearly infinite the shades and grades of impulse which determine the proper interchanges and relationships between its components become; then the more impossible and ridiculous is any undertaking to plan and control those relationships, and the more the automatic working of a completely free market is needed.

8. As a government increases in power, and as a means of increasing its power, it always has a tendency to squeeze out the middle class; to destroy or weaken the middle for the benefit of the top and the bottom. Even where there is no conscious alliance for this purpose, such as formed the basis for Bismarck's beginning of the socialization of Germany or Franklin Roosevelt's beginning of the socialization of America, the forces to that end are always at work—as they have been in England for fifty years. In the nations that the gods would destroy they first make the middle class helpless, through insidious but irresistible government pressures.

9. The form of government is not nearly so important as its quality. Justice and a lack of arbitrariness, for instance, are two characteristics of a government that are most important to the welfare and happiness of a people. They are as likely to be found—or more accurately, as little likely to be found—under any one form of government as another. Rampant interference with personal lives is the most obnoxious characteristic of any government, and that is found just as readily under elected officials as under hereditary monarchs. In fact, as the Greeks pointed out, as has been well known to careful students of history ever since, and as the founding fathers of our own republic were well aware, when an elected government succeeds in attracting and maintaining an overwhelming majority behind it for any length of time, its mob instincts make it the most tyrannical of all forms of social organization.

Incidentally, a tragic result of the emphasis placed by historians and statesmen on the *form* of the American government has been the emulation by newly independent Asiatic nations of the wrong thing in our American system. Admiring the tremendous success of the United States, observing the unprecedented prosperity, freedom, and opportunities for happiness on the part of the people, looking up to the United States as the example to be followed, nation after nation in other parts of the world, but especially in Asia, has copied the American government for itself. Its budding political scientists have felt that this must be the key to national success and greatness—as it clearly would have been if they had copied the right thing, the very thing that made America great.

But what these new nations have taken for themselves are carbon copies of the American government *at the time* their own governments were being established. In far too many cases this has been since the New Deal had completely stultified the original virtues of the American government. The Philippines, for instance, in 1948, took over every form of welfarism and every stifling regulation and suppression of private enterprise, and substitute therefor, which Roosevelt's New Dealers had been able to impose on us even with a war to help them. The results were and still are pathetic, simply because they had been led to believe that it was the *form* of the American government which counted. But actually it had been *the small amount of government* in America throughout its centuries of mushrooming productivity, not the form of that government, which had been the vital factor of success. The Filipinos and others like them took over, instead, the excesses of government which were already in a fair way to start the decline of America itself.[23]

10. Which brings us to the last, the most overlooked, and in my opinion the most important, of these basic gen-

eralizations concerning government, Thomas Jefferson expressed part of it in his famous dictum that that government is best which governs least. But Jefferson was thinking of the extent of a government's power more than of the extensiveness of the government itself. And our tenth point is that neither the form of government nor its quality is as important as its quantity. A thoroughly foul government, like that of Nero, which still did not reach its tentacles too far into the daily lives and doings of its subjects, was far better for the Roman Empire in the long run than the intentionally benevolent government of Diocletian or of Constantine, whose bureaucratic agents were everywhere.

Let's dramatize this fact—or opinion—by bringing it closer home. And your speaker would like to have it understood that he does not condone dishonesty in the slightest degree. Yet I had rather have for America, and I am convinced America would be better off with, a government of three hundred thousand officials and agents, every single one of them a thief, than a government of three million agents with every single one of them an honest, honorable, public servant. For the first group would only steal from the American economic and political system; the second group would be bound in time to destroy it. *The increasing quantity of government, in all nations, has constituted the greatest tragedy of the twentieth century.*

Let's spotlight just one particular result of this tragic development, which has occurred in connection with man's age-old worry—war. That result is the frequency, the length, the extensiveness, the horrible destructiveness, and the totality of impact on the population, of the wars of the twentieth century.

In the physical sciences we are accustomed to using combined measurements, such as foot-pounds, kilowatt-hours or man-days. Let's invent such a phrase for the measurement of war, and call it the day-number-horror unit. In the use of that three-way calculation we multiply the

days of suffering by the number of people who suffer, by the depth of the suffering, to arrive at an appraisal. Then I believe you will find that pretty generally throughout history —despite other factors causing occasional exceptions— and very definitely throughout recent centuries, the day-number-horrors measure of any war has been proportional to the contemporary extensiveness of government. In fact and specifically, it has been directly proportional to the *product* of the *quantities* of government in the nations involved at the time a war was fought.

Also, you will find that it is the huge quantity of government which, more than anything else, makes these tremendously destructive wars not only possible, but unavoidable. One illustration should make this statement too clear for argument. Do *you* want to fight the Russian people? Do you think the Russian *people* have the least desire to fight us? Do you think there would be the slightest chance of the American people and the Russian people fighting each other, with millions to be killed on both sides and great parts of both countries probably to be utterly destroyed, if there were only one-tenth as much government in each country as now exists? Stop and think about it for a minute.

It is not only that governments carry their peoples into horrible and utterly unnecessary wars, but it takes a very huge quantity of government to carry its people into the totalitarian struggle which war has now been made by this same quantity of government. Reduce all the governments of all the nations of the world to one-third of their present size—not one-third of their power, note, nor are we referring to their quality, but just to one-third of their bureaucratic numbers, their extensiveness, their meddling in the lives of their subjects—and you would immediately accomplish two things. You would reduce the likelihood of war between hostile nations to at most one-ninth of its present probability, and the destructiveness of any wars that did take place in the same proportion.

The greatest enemy of man is, and always has been, government. And the larger, the more extensive that government, the greater the enemy.

Now clearly the United States which, throughout its early centuries, was the greatest beneficiary from the scarcity of government that the world has ever known, should not only return to the right course for its own further growth in prosperity, freedom, and happiness, but should set an example again for the whole world. In fact, the word *americanism,* with a small *a,* should be made, and become understood, as the very antithesis of socialism, and communism with a little *c.* For the *communist*—using the word now with a little *c* to denote a theoretician rather than a member of the conspiracy—the communist believes that a collectivist society should swallow up all individuals, make their lives and their energies completely subservient to the needs and the purposes of the collectivist state; and that any means are permissible to achieve this end. The true *americanist* believes that the individual should retain the freedom to make his own bargain with life, and the responsibility for the results of that bargain; and that means are as important as ends in the civilized social order which he desires. The same two words, with initial capitals, Communists and Americanists, should merely denote the aggressive fighters for these two mutually exclusive philosophies.

But Americanism, as either a phrase or a force on the contemporary world scene, has been eroded into something negative and defeatist. It has come to represent merely a delaying action against the victorious march of its enemy, collectivism. The air is full of clarion calls to Americans to organize, in order better to fight against socialism, communism, or some vanguard of their forces.

Twice each day the mail brings to my desk pleas for me to contribute money, or effort, or moral support, or all three, to some group which is battling to hold back some

particular advance of collectivist storm troops. Even those organizations or activities which bear a positive label are motivated by negative thinking. An association *for* the Bricker Amendment is, in reality, an association *against* the intervention of international socialist forces in the control of our domestic lives.

Americanism has become primarily a denial of something else, rather than an assertion of itself. And there are many of us who think that this should be true no longer. We think that Americanism should again come to mean, and to be, a positive, forward-looking philosophy; a design and example of social organization which boldly and confidently offers leadership along the one hard but sure road to a better world.

It is not just in the United States, of course, that all the aggressiveness is on the side of the socialist-communist allies. In the world-wide ideological struggle which divides mankind today, we conservatives fight always on the defensive. The very name by which we indentify ourselves defines our objective. It is to conserve as much as we can, out of all we have inherited that is worthwhile, from the encroachments and destructiveness of this advancing collectivism. We build no more icons to freedom; we merely try to fend off the iconoclast.

Such has been the pattern during the whole first half of the twentieth century. From the bright plateaux of individual freedom and individual responsibility, which man had precariously attained, there has been a steady falling back towards the dark valleys of dependence and serfdom. But this ignominious retreat has been just as true of Americans, the heirs of a strong new society, as of the tired residual legatees of an old and enfeebled European civilization. During this long and forced retreat we have fought only a rearguard and sometimes delaying action. We have never been rallied to counterattack, to break through the enemy or rout him, and to climb again beyond our highest pre-

vious gains. And in the unending skirmishes, to hold as much as possible of the ground currently occupied, we have lost all sight of the higher tablelands of freedom which once were our recognized goals. I for one, and many others like me, are no longer willing to consider only when to retreat and how far. There is a braver and a wiser course.

If we heirs of all the ages are to find a turning point in this rapid and sometimes stampeding descent, in which we are abandoning instead of improving our inheritance; if the last half of the twentieth century is to see the curve that measures individual dignity turn upward; if the men who really wish to be free and self-reliant are to begin climbing back up the mountainside; then the goal must be known, and the purpose of aggressive offense must replace defensive defeatism as the banner under which we march. It is fatal to be merely against losing ground, for then there is no way to go but back. We have to be for something; we must know what that something is; and we must believe it is worth a fight to obtain. Reduced to its simplest and broadest terms, that something is less government and more responsibility. For both less government and more responsibility bring increasing opportunities for human happiness.

Due to the tremendous momentum given us by our hard-working, ambitious, and individualistic forefathers, our nation is still by far the most dynamic in the world in its productive processes, and in its influences on the whole world's standard of living. We must again become equally dynamic in our *spiritual* influence; in our positive leadership and example to provide a governmental environment in which individual man can make the most of his life in whatever way *he*—and not his government—wishes to use it.

There are many stages of welfarism, socialism, and collectivism in general, but communism is the ultimate state of them all, and they all lead inevitably in that direction. In this final stage, communism, you have a society in which class distinctions are greater than in any other, but where

position in these classes is determined solely by demagogic political skill and ruthless cunning. You have a society in which all those traits which have helped to make man civilized, and which our multiple faiths have classified as virtues, are now discarded as vices—while exactly their opposites are glorified. And you have a society in which every *fault* of government that we have discussed above is held to be a *benefit* and a desirable part of the framework of life.

But there is an exactly opposite direction. It leads towards a society in which brotherhood and kindliness and tolerance and honesty and self-reliance and the integrity of the human personality are considered virtues; a society which venerates those traits exactly because they have helped the human animal to achieve some degree of humanitarian civilization, and are the common denominators of all our great religions. This direction leads toward a governmental environment for human life founded on the basis of long experience with government; on experience which shows government to be a necessary evil, but a continuous brake on all progress and the ultimate enemy of all freedom. It is the forward direction, the upward direction—and americanism, I hope, shall become its name.

There, Gentlemen, is our argument, or that part of it which applies, as I think it should be used in the political field primarily for political purposes. To make it heard by, and really understood by, enough millions of Americans, is a colossal undertaking. But who says it cannot be done? For who has really tried? We have all been fiddling around with half way measures, with compromise measures, with delaying actions, instead of getting down to fundamental principles, standing on them with firmness, and remembering that future history is always determined by minorities who really know what they want. The whole New Deal march toward state socialism has been carried through and advanced to its present stage *by a determined minority.* We

can bring about the necessary reversal of this trend if we, as a minority for what is right, stand as firm, work as hard, and give to the principles in which we believe the same dedication, as has the sophomoric minority of so-called liberals which brought us to our present crisis.

The question is not really whether we *can expunge* this disease of collectivism, and make America strong and healthy and a true example for all the world again, but whether we think it is worth the Herculean effort, the sacrifice and dedication, that would be required. I think it would, and I am hoping you think so too.

Footnotes for the Fourth Printing

23. In Manila, in 1949, I had to spend a whole day getting a certificate from some government bureau, showing that I did not owe the Republic of the Philippines any income taxes, before I would be allowed to board my plane for departure. When I got back to the Manila Hotel I was mad, and went up to the Pan American Airlines counter to have somebody on whom to let off steam.

"It just doesn't make sense," I said, to the very clean-cut well-groomed, friendly—and smart—young Filipino behind the counter. "I have been in the Philippines only a few days, strictly as a tourist, personally paying all of my own expenses. I haven't engaged in any business, and there is no way I could possibly owe the government of the Philippines any income tax, if I had tried. The regulation is idiotic."

"Yes, sir," he said, with a smile. "I thoroughly agree with you, sir. That's one regulation of the United States government which I don't think we should have copied last year when we went into the government business for ourselves!"

I have told this story elsewhere in print, but it seemed worth retelling here. For not only was it the "perfect squelch" of myself, at which I laughed delightedly then, and at which I still laugh every time I think of it; but it contained a whole oak tree of truth compressed into the acorn of one wisecrack. There were thousands of other regulations, tremendously more damaging in the long run, which the Filipinos should have failed to copy from our example when they "went into the government business for themselves."

SECTION SEVEN

And Help to Build a Better World . . .

Gentlemen, this is the last of these formal divisions of my monologic presentation. And I want to begin it by reading to you the first three stanzas of O'Shaughnessy's great ode, *The Music Makers.*

We are the music-makers,
And we are the dreamers of dreams,
Wandering by lone sea-breakers,
And sitting by desolate streams;
World-losers and world-forsakers,
On whom the pale moon gleams:
Yet we are the movers and shakers
Of the world forever it seems.

With wonderful deathless ditties
We build up the world's great cities,
And out of a fabulous story
We fashion an empire's glory:
One man with a dream, at pleasure,
Shall go forth and conquer a crown;
And three with a new song's measure
Can trample an empire down.

We, in the ages lying
In the buried past of the earth,
Built Nineveh with our sighing,
And Babel itself with our mirth;
And o'erthrew them with prophesying
To the old of the new world's worth;
For each age is a dream that is dying,
Or one that is coming to birth.

Now the whole poem, including the many stanzas I did not read, seems to me an impressive tribute to the power of imagination to design and direct the course of history. But I really read that much of it simply to put in their proper setting just these two lines:

> For each age is a dream that is dying,
> Or one that is coming to birth.

For the last fifty years our age has been a dream that was dying. To this very group, at this very moment, I am proposing that we turn our faces forward instead of backward, begin to make even our defensive actions fit into a constructive design, and do our part to usher in a new age that is coming to birth.

I don't expect the *New York Times* to begin announcing excitedly in January that obviously the world started on a new era in Indianapolis in December, 1958. Of course it is only the work we do afterwards, the work we persuade and inspire others to do, and the long results and widening reach of both, that can make of this meeting anything but a two-day seminar in philosophy and current affairs. But if every man here should leave tonight feeling in his own mind that he had been at the beginning of a new chapter in history, *it would be true*. It would be true no matter how long the historians might take to find it out.

The basic reason why one old age is dying, as I tried to make clear yesterday, is that the faith which was the core of its strength no longer commands the unquestioning loyalty of enough of its devotees. For the dream of any nation or any people must depend on faith. The foundation of our new dream must be faith, or it will never come to pass. Where is this faith, and what is this faith, so true that neither our hearts nor our reasons can deny it, so broad that it takes in without violation the faith of our fathers, and so deep that it can inspire martyrdom at need. As to

where, it is right in front of us; and as to what, it is exactly what we in this room already and actually believe. To try to make this clear, in the only convincing way I know, I'm going to do what no man likes to do. I'm going to try to tell you what I really believe, in the areas that are considered parts of a man's religion. For Emerson said it is the outlook of genius to feel that what is true of yourself is also true of all mankind. Making no claim to genius, I'll still try to imitate one for this occasion.

Now first let me repeat here, for the devout Catholics and fundamentalist Protestants who are among my best friends and strongest supporters, that it is no part of my purpose to disturb their beliefs in the slightest—or the beliefs of any man or woman who really does have a religious faith instead of just the shell of one. What I am concerned about, what we must all be vitally concerned about today, as the very essence of our problem, is morality, integrity, and purpose.

That morality must be based on a bedrock of faith. For those who already have such a bedrock of faith, and stand on it and abide by it, I can offer nothing, and I would certainly take away nothing. But for those who are no longer sure exactly where they do stand, on what rocks or how firmly, I want to try to show them that all of these bedrocks together constitute a foundation with room and strength for us all. For unless we willingly anchor our moral judgments to eternal truths, we become just chaff, blown all ways before the winds of confusion. So let me, however reluctantly, point to the rocks of my own faith—not for the devout and the fundamentalists who do not need it, but for others whom possibly I may help.

The keystone to my own religious belief, I think, was best delineated by Tennyson in just one great line:

> For I doubt not through the ages
> one increasing purpose runs.

Neither Tennyson nor any other sane man could doubt this fact, as we shall emphasize presently. But first, let us ask, whose purpose? God's? Or man's? But if man has had one increasing purpose through the ages, from what source did it come, and who decided what the direction of that purpose was to be?

The fundamentalist Christian says immediately that a Divine Being created man, with this purpose predetermined. And I agree. Nor do I wish to disturb his understanding of *how* God created man. I personally think that, at the present level of our knowledge, we must conceive of this Divine Being having done so by creating Milky Ways and astronomical universes, with laws and purposes which caused planets like our Earth to develop; and by creating evolutionary forces which both produced man and endowed him with purpose greater than his individual self.

I think that if this Creator allows man to continue to grow, and his purpose to continue to increase, our knowledge will reach a level in another few thousand years where even this concept will seem far too detailed, against the broader and larger forces we can then glimpse; that even this present concept will seem to have viewed the Creator as far too close, too understandable, and too provincial a Power, against the remoteness, majesty, and omnipotence then conceivable. Just as the details of man's creation, as our forefathers understood the book of Genesis, seem to some of us now to have obscured a concept of incredible grandeur by man's egocentric insistence on bringing God down almost to his own size. *But*—our fundamentalist ancestors believed that God created man, and God is great. We must agree, completely. We merely feel today that God is infinitely greater than those ancestors were yet allowed to see.

When we first start to study mathematics the childish mind finally grasps that such large numbers as one thousand times one thousand do not make any dent on the

measure of infinity. But it is hard for the child to realize that neither does a billion to the billionth power put him one whit nearer to the edges of infinity than before he started. And adult man finds the same difficulty with his religious concepts.

It is hard for man to realize that the Infinite still remains infinite, untouched in Its remoteness and unreduced in Its infinity by man's most ambitious approaches; or that all of man's increasing knowledge leaves the Unknowable just as completely unknowable as before. But I think that, being allowed now to grasp this truth, we should cease to quarrel and disagree over how close we are to God. For we are using a term which, in a literal context, or objectively, has no meaning. We can then each put the God we worship as close to ourselves, *subjectively*, as our own faith and understanding dictate. And agreeing that a Creator greater than ourselves has visibly endowed us with purpose, we can give far more of our energy and dedication to serving that purpose better.

That there is a purpose in man beyond anything called for by his individual needs, and far greater than his personal desires, can be denied only by the most depraved maniac or the most ignorant fool. One of the best summarizations of the force and beauty and eternal quality of that purpose is contained in William Herbert Carruth's "Each in His Own Tongue," which I should like to recall to your minds.

And, Gentlemen, lest some of you think there is anything blasphemous or even too secular in my repeated reference to the poets in this discussion, let me point out to you that the men who wrote many of the books of the Old Testament, and those who wrote most of the books of the New Testament, were the poetic spirits of their respective ages. Theirs were the minds on which their contemporaries and successors depended to interpret and phrase man's most profound thoughts, most permanent beliefs, and deepest faith.

Those same interpretations and recordings and expressions of man's developing experiences, beliefs, and faith do not come to us today as further books added to our Bible; but they are being given to us, with greater and easier understanding than we might otherwise achieve, by the same kind of reverent and poetic minds. So here is Carruth's justly famous poem:

A fire-mist and a planet,—
  A crystal and a cell,—
A jellyfish and a saurian,
  And caves where the cave-men dwell;
Then a sense of law and beauty,
  And a face turned from the clod,—
Some call it Evolution,
  And others call it God.

A haze on the far horizon,
  The infinite, tender sky,
The ripe, rich tint of the cornfields,
  And the wild geese sailing high,—
And all over upland and lowland
  The charm of the goldenrod,—
Some of us call it Autumn,
  And others call it God.

Like tides on a crescent sea-beach,
  When the moon is new and thin,
Into our hearts high yearnings
  Come welling and surging in,—
Come from the mystic ocean,
  Whose rim no foot has trod,—
Some of us call it Longing,
  And others call it God.

A picket frozen on duty,—
A mother starved for her brood,—
Socrates drinking the hemlock,
And Jesus on the rood;
And millions who, humble and nameless,
The straight, hard pathway plod,—
Some call it Consecration,
And others call it God.

Who can read that, realize the incontrovertible and wonderful truth of the story of man's purpose at work which the poet tells, and fail to feel reverently bound to serve that same purpose faithfully and well?

This brings me to the second keystone, if any such contradictory figure of speech is allowed, in my own personal belief. It is the answer to the question: What is that purpose? And this too has been summarized by yet another poet, Harry Kemp, in just one brilliant line: "Thou hast put an upward reach in the heart of man." In fact it seems to me that, to make us truly religious, we do not need to know anything more about God, man, and man's relationship to God than is given by a reverent understanding of that line: "Thou has put an upward reach in the heart of man." And again it makes no difference to me, and it is a subjective matter which should cause no disagreement between us, how each one feels that this upward reach has been inculcated into the heart of man. But the thoroughness with which it has been done is a majestic revelation.

For look with me first at the common denominators of all of our great religions. That man shall not steal, which further means that man shall recognize and respect property rights, is common to them all. So is the injunction that man shall not murder nor harm his fellow man. So are the concepts of kindness, and charity, and restraint of appetites, and industriousness, and respect for age and

experience, and gratitude for favors received, and an individual's responsibility for his trespasses, and the expectation of justice, and faith in a happier future, and obeisance to the laws and morals and temporal government of the time and age, and a reverence for a Power or Powers greater than man himself. And of course a dozen others, both general and specific, that I have not named.

But, Gentlemen, please note, these are also exactly the characteristics with which evolutionary selection has gradually endowed man, to enable him to rise out of an animal existence, haltingly but surely towards a more humane civilization and a promise of a tremendously more wonderful future. In fact the very word "upward," as we use it here, can be taken to describe and define those traits which, found in some species and not found in others, caused those favored species to outstrip their rivals, and to come upward through the evolutionary competition, until one such species became civilized man. One philosopher will tell you that the possession of these upward traits in some species was purely an accident of nature; another that it was due to the plan of a Divine Being. To me they are both saying the same thing.

Let's take one or two very simple illustrations. Today man finds a rose garden beautiful, and the view of clear running water so pleasurable that he builds countless fountains to make his landscapes charming. Originally, of course, the presence of flowers like the rose meant fertile soil, the kind of sunny climate in which birds and bees and man all thrived, and the absence of noxious jungle; while clear running water originally meant that man had escaped from desert or jungle to an area to which he was far better adjusted for sustaining life and making it more pleasant. But do these facts from man's biological history make the rose or running water, or man's love for both, any less wonderful?

The same thing is true with regard to those gradually

acquired characteristics of his own animal nature and later human personality, which converted him from monkey to primate, to barbarian, then to a man so far civilized that the male proposes deferentially to the weaker female before he will even touch her, in satisfaction of the second strongest impulse of his being. Does the fact that these characteristics, which together constitute the "upward reach," were acquired by man, or given to him, through the mechanics of evolutionary competition—if they were—does this make them any less wonderful, or reduce in the slightest our gratitude to a Creator who provided that upward reach? Why do we have to feel that the best qualities of man were given to us full-blown by some more direct magic? Or how could any magic be greater than that so inadequately described here? More important than either question, what difference does it make, so far as our clear duty to use and strengthen all impulses of the "upward reach" is concerned?

Not only are we a part of some mighty purpose beyond our understanding, and not only do we have a clear duty to be true to that purpose to the fullest extent that we are allowed to grasp its workings and its direction; but all human experience shows that the total happiness of any generation and of its posterity is directly tied to the respect of that generation for the "upward reach" in man's nature. We have all the reason here that man can ask, divine or human or pragmatic, for keeping our consciences attuned to the emotions and impulses which increase man's "upward reach," and for then obeying those consciences—*obeying by commission as well as omission*—to the utmost of our respective will powers and abilities.

Now let me assure you that, in my opinion, all of this brief adventure into theological philosophy does have direct bearing on even the most practical problems we are here to consider. And since I am hereby participating in the first confessional of my life, and wearing my heart more

openly on my sleeve than I have ever done before, let me go all of the way and translate these basic motivations into the specific form in which their impact hammers away with a comforting persistence on my particular conscience.

I first broke through the intellectually restricting bonds of the unusually narrow Southern Baptist fundamentalism, in which I was raised, more than forty years ago. I loved everything about it except the specific details of its dogma. As a result of its teachings I saw myself as the inheritor of all the labor and sacrifice that had gone before me, by men who had used this God-given "upward reach." They had used it to provide the moral codes, the humane traditions, the accumulation of knowledge, and the material comforts, to make me so fortunate an heir of so many ages—to whatever extent I was equal to my inheritance. I felt myself bound by a gentleman's code, which is just another way of expressing continuing human brotherhood or loyalty, to live up to the standards and carry on the ideals of men who had died hundreds and even thousands of years before I was born.

The substance of my conscience, as I believe it is really the substance of the conscience of every man in this room, was gratitude and a corresponding sense of responsibility. Gratitude, if you will let me paraphrase Henley's line without the slightest implication of blasphemy—gratitude to whatever God there was, and gratitude to all of the noble men of the past, for the life and the environment for that life which was given me; and responsibility, to God and man, to be worthy, so far as I was able, of the human race at its best. And Gentlemen, what firmer foundation can we possibly need for the faith on which to build our new age and with which to inaugurate the dream that is coming to birth?

Wherever we turn, in looking at whatever blessings we have for the present and hopes for the future, we find a need for gratitude that makes the acceptance of responsi-

bility a duty and a source of inward happiness. Consider, for instance and for an instant, the blessing of freedom. Kipling once wrote truly:

> All we know of freedom, all we need to know,
> This our fathers won for us, long and long ago.

Are we, as Lowell put it, going to be "traitors to our sires," and lose that freedom for our children and their children? Macaulay had Horatius say:

> And how can man die better
> Then facing fearful odds
> For the ashes of his fathers
> And the temples of his gods?

And so we ask ourselves in simple sincerity, as I did in the article, "A Letter to Khrushchev"—if it becomes necessary, just how *can* man die better, especially if in doing so he appreciably reduces the odds faced by his compatriots, in their fight against the overwhelming forces of evil threatening us today?

But our reason for gratitude and corresponding responsibility extends to every field and corner of the civilization we now enjoy—perhaps for so short a time longer. It is worthwhile remembering, now and then, men like Hugh Latimer. In 1555, when he and his friend Ridley were being burned at the stake for heresy, and all he had to do to save his life was to say the proper words of recantation, his veneration for spiritual freedom and truth caused him to say instead: "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out." There are thousands of men like him, to whose veneration for the upward reach in the heart of man we owe the very fact

that we can sit in this room today and discuss religious matters without fear.

But it is not even to the martyrs, perhaps, that we owe the most. There have been missionaries and scholars, the Catholic monks of the Middle Ages, poets and philosophers, builders and explorers, statesmen and scientists, throughout centuries receding into the unknown past, who have toiled and dreamed and sacrificed and died that you and I might have the comforts and freedoms and hopes that we enjoy now in so fair and happy a land.

One of the worst and most sadly disturbing traits of many of our young people today is that they take their inheritance for granted, and have no thought of its cost. This is a vital part of the moral breakdown that is endangering our civilization. It shows how basic and necessary a component of faith is man's feeling of continuity and gratitude. Let us, with a faith for the future based on this very principle of gratitude to God and man, lived up to by ourselves, and made a living and articulate faith for others by both example and teaching—let us try to bring many of these young people, who are now at loose ends because of their lack of *any* faith, back into the conscious current of man's increasing purpose. For a code of honor and an ennobling sense of responsibility are themselves gifts to the human soul which have been won by its upward reach.

And so, Gentlemen, I have tried to give you, freely and frankly, the substance of my own religious beliefs. And without any claim to goodness, wisdom, or originality, I have tried, in far too short a time for so huge a subject, to indicate to you the elements of a faith which, I still hope and believe, is shared by all of you, no matter how differently you might have explained or expressed it. It is a faith for which I have earnestly hoped that it might encompass the individual beliefs of most men of good will; that it might refill our ancient founts of inspiration; and that it would become a basis and a beginning of renewed dedication to a dream of man's future.

SECTION EIGHT

Through The John Birch Society . . .

Now, how do we go about asking men, in the words of Santayana, to "trust the soul's invincible surmise?" How do we go about all of the immediately more urgent tasks and undertakings which I have been foreshadowing—of which this moral and ethical base is the bedrock, to be chiseled into a more recognizable foundation as we go along? We come at long last to the question of ways and means and methods—to what our bureaucratic friends would call implementation—in connection with all of these plans and aims and hopes.

In the earlier sections of this long and fragmented discourse I used the word "organization" several times in connection with suggested future plans. It was a very broad and inaccurate term, employed because no other was available to convey the thought there being expressed without too much interruption of that thought. But the "organization" of which I am thinking is of an entirely different nature from anything that word might at first bring to your minds, just as the raising of resources is of a far more drastic and more *realistic* nature than anything attempted in this fight before.

I am proposing, as the most immediately tangible outcome of this meeting, the formation of The John Birch Society. And I ask you not to give undue thought, at present, to the name. In the small packets for each of you there are copies of my little book, *The Life of John Birch*. I hope you will read it when you have the opportunity, if you have not already done so—or even if you have.

You will find that John Birch, a young fundamentalist Baptist preacher from Macon, Georgia, who did as much as any other one man, high or low, to win our war and the Chinese war against the Japanese in China, was murdered by the Chinese Communists at the first opportunity after the war because of the powerful resistance he would have been able to inspire against them. You will find, and I believe agree, that John Birch possessed in his own character *all* of those noble traits and ideals which we should like to see become symbolized by The John Birch Society. And the kind of life, of peaceful opportunity and responsibility, which John Birch wanted for his fellow Americans, and for his Chinese friends, and for all men of good will, is exactly the kind of life we should like to see possible everywhere. We could use other names than that of John Birch, of course. But I think you will gradually see, as time and meditation do their work, that the name is fitting, significant, and helpful, in many ways and for many reasons.

It is important that it should be, for I am not suggesting any ephemeral organization of loose ties and uncertain loyalties. It is my fervent hope that The John Birch Society will last for hundreds of years, and exert an increasing influence for the temporal good and the spiritual ennoblement of mankind throughout those centuries. For I am staking my whole aspiration to play my part, in forwarding man's one increasing purpose, on whatever can be accomplished through The John Birch Society. I want no other title than that of its Founder, and have no other ambition for anything resembling fame or historical remembrance.

The John Birch Society is to be a monolithic body. A republican form of government or of organization has many attractions and advantages, under certain favorable conditions. But under less happy circumstances it lends itself too readily to infiltration, distortion and disruption. And democracy, of course, in government or organization, as the Greeks and Romans both found out, and as I believe every

man in this room clearly recognizes—democracy is merely a deceptive phrase, a weapon of demagoguery, and a perennial fraud.[24]

For withstanding the stresses and strains of internal differences and external animosities, throughout changing political climates over long periods of time; for the building of morale and loyalty and a feeling of unified purpose and closely knit strength; for effective functioning in periods of crisis and a permanence of high dedication throughout more peaceful decades; for these and many other reasons The John Birch Society will operate under completely authoritative control at all levels. The fear of tyrannical oppression of individuals, and other arguments against the authoritative structure in the form of governments, have little bearing on the case of a voluntary association, where the authoritative power can be exercised and enforced only by persuasion. And what little validity they do have is outweighed by the advantages of firm and positive direction of the Society's energies. Especially for the near future, and for the fight against Communism which is the first great task of the Society, it is imperative that all the strength we can muster be subject to smoothly functioning direction from the top. As I have said before, no collection of debating societies is ever going to stop the Communist conspiracy from taking us over, and I have no intention of adding another frustrated group to their number. We mean business every step of the way.

There are many reasons why, in the fight immediately ahead, we cannot stop for parliamentary procedures or a lot of arguments among ourselves. One is the increasing confusion, cleverly planned by the Communists, as to what persons, books, activities and organizations really are anti-Communist. In other words we are now being more and more divided and deceived, by accepting within our walls more and more Trojan horses, large and small, made out of all kinds of timbers, and with all kinds of enemy agents

inside. Some of them have no more harmful purpose than merely to drain off, into innocuous wastefulness, money and effort which might otherwise find its way into really patriotic and anti-Communist activities. Others are primarily designed to offer protective coloration to Communists who can thus get themselves publicized as active in anti-Communist organizations. Others, like the very pretentious American Friends of Vietnam, in my opinion form major parts of a whole plan and drive for gradually turning some country over to the Communists, while pretending to be leading the opposition. But most of them are intended, as much as anything else, to add to and create the increasing confusion which makes even the most patriotic American feel utterly frustrated in trying to figure out who is friend and who is enemy—and hence more willing to give up the whole struggle.

Now there are ways of sizing up both individuals and organizations in this battle, which come only with experience, a knowledge of the interlocking pieces and personalities, and a feel for the way the Communists work. And while of course I can make mistakes too, I know from the way my opinion of various characters, formed entirely independently, has then proved to coincide with the opinion of J. B. Matthews, time after time when I have had a chance to check with him, that I have a fairly sensitive and accurate nose in this area. And of course I also have the benefit of J. B.'s files, almost incredible memory, and judgment built out of long experience, to lean on whenever I wish. So we do not intend to be frustrated by indecisions of this nature nor to let our members be. But the confusion and the problem will get steadily worse; and the need for somebody who can simply say "Help this guy, or let him help you, but stay away from that one" is also going to increase.

Actually, we are going to cut through the red tape and parliamentary briar patches and road blocks of confused

purpose with direct authority at every turn. The men who join The John Birch Society during the next few months or few years are going to be doing so primarily because they believe in me and what I am doing and are willing to accept my leadership anyway. And we are going to use that loyalty, like every other resource, to the fullest possible advantage that we can. Whenever and wherever, either through infiltration by the enemy or honest differences of opinion, that loyalty ceases to be sufficient to keep some fragments in line, we are not going to be in the position of having the Society's work weakened by raging debates. We are not going to have factions developing on the two-sides-to-every-question theme.[25]

Those members who cease to feel the necessary degree of loyalty can either resign or will be put out before they build up any splintering following of their own inside the Society. As I have said, we mean business every step of the way. We can allow for differences of opinion. We shall need and welcome advice. And we expect to use the normal measure of diplomacy always called for in dealing with human beings. But whenever differences of opinion become translated into a lack of loyal support, we shall have short cuts for eliminating both without going through any congress of so-called democratic processes. *Otherwise, Communist infiltrators could bog us down in interminable disagreements, schisms, and feuds before we ever became seriously effective.*[26]

The purpose of The John Birch Society, as officially stated, will be to promote less government, more responsibility, and a better world. The purpose, as unofficially described and discussed among ourselves will be exactly the same thing. Our short-range purpose, our long-range purpose, and our lasting purpose, is to promote less government, more responsibility, and a better world. That says it all. It is, I think, simple, understandable, and all-inclusive as to the goals for which we should strive.

In seeking the first two of those broad objectives, less government and more responsibility, we shall make all the use we can of educational action on the political front. In always seeking more slowly, but with an inner unswerving resolution, to make this a better world, we shall use all means and depend on all efforts that are consistent with the faith which supplies our motivation.

In the political arena we shall try to make the word Americanism useful as a constructive opposite of Communism, and attract to our support many americanists who may not be members of our Society. But the words americanism and americanist are simply semantic weapons, and have no direct connection with The John Birch Society.

Members of The John Birch Society, not only in the United States, but anywhere in the world, not only *can* be good patriots in their respective countries, but necessarily *will* be. For internationalism, as it is conceived and promoted today, is an attempt to impose more government and a more centralized one-world government on all of us everywhere. For that reason it is automatically contrary to everything we stand for, and one of the movements we shall oppose with all the strength we can.

An honestly intended federation of nations, in some later years or decades, for the legitimate purpose of increasing the freedom of individuals, goods, and cultures to cross national boundaries, and hence for the very purpose of decreasing governmental restrictions on individuals, is something we would support with all our hearts. But until the intended Communist Internationale now called the United Nations has been wiped out or made over from the bottom up, our attitude towards so-called internationalism is made clear and uncompromising by the stated purpose of the Society. As Richard Cobden said, "Peace will come to this earth when her peoples have as much as possible to do with each other; their governments the least possible." It is axiomatic that we shall strive to hasten the world's approach to those conditions in every way we can.

We come now to the question which I know has been in the forefront of the thoughts of some of you for quite a while. What are the organizational mechanics of The John Birch Society, and how do we go about building up its membership so that it is anything but paper and conversation?

The John Birch Society will function almost entirely through small local chapters, usually of from ten to twenty dedicated patriots, although some chapters may occasionally, and for a while, be larger. Each will have a Chapter Leader, appointed by headquarters, which is in Belmont, Massachusetts; or appointed through officers of the Society, in the field, who have themselves been duly appointed by headquarters. The dues are whatever the member wants to make them, with a minimum of $24.00 per year for men and $12.00 per year for women. But we shall prefer to have these dues paid by each member of a local chapter monthly, at $2.00 per month for men and $1.00 per month for women, to his or her Chapter Leader. This is for many reasons, some of which are obvious; and it will be the responsibility of each Chapter Leader to collect such dues regularly and forward them to headquarters.

Because we shall have people who want to join The John Birch Society, however, in parts of the country where we do not yet have any chance of establishing chapters, and because for a while their number will increase, we also have a Home Chapter which they can join. The differences are that we cannot afford to have dues paid to the Home Chapter except annually in one lump sum of $24.00 (or more) for men and $12.00 (or more) for women, because otherwise we should dissipate too much of the dues money in bookkeeping costs; and that our contact with Home Chapter members will be largely through printed bulletins —even as to the work we ask them to do—rather than through personal contact.

In the case of local chapters we shall expect the Chapter

Leader to get all of his or her members together at least once a month, and in many cases oftener, as well as on any special occasions which may make such a meeting advisable. And we expect the Chapter Leader to be in practically continuous contact with his or her members to whatever extent may be necessary in order to pass on or receive information and to carry out various concerted efforts as requested from headquarters.

For handling the organizational mechanics of the Society, and for helping to form new chapters, we shall have a paid staff man, with the title of Coordinator, for each area of the proper size. Above these Coordinators, in time, we shall have supervisors with the rank or title of Major Coordinators; and we shall further build the organizational framework from the bottom up, as made necessary by sufficient membership, in order to keep strict and careful control on what every chapter is doing, and even every member of every chapter so far as the effective work of The John Birch Society is concerned.

Let me point out here, too, that while such Coordinators and eventually Major Coordinators will receive salaries and expenses according to their work and their abilities, neither the chapter members nor even the Chapter Leaders who form the base of our Society, and who cumulatively do most of the work that counts, nor I myself and other top officers, will receive any pay whatsoever. It is only those in the middle who will receive any remuneration, because there is where we simply must utilize paid staff for organizational needs.

We are out to get a million members truly dedicated to the things in which we believe. This, we are well aware, will take time, and tremendous effort, and dedication on our own part greater than that we ask of anybody else. But there are a million good patriots, who are also men and women of good will and good character and humane conscience, in America, who are just waiting to join The John

Birch Society as fast as we can carry the story to them. There are a million such men and women in America who would join The John Birch Society tonight if they knew as much about it as you men in this room do right now. And I think that a million members is all we would want, at least in the United States. For we need disciplined pullers at the oars, and not passengers in the boat.

Now that last statement may put you in mind of the Communist principle of "the dedicated few," as enunciated by Lenin. And we are, in fact, willing to draw on all successful human experience in organizational matters, so long as it does not involve any sacrifice of morality in the means used to achieve an end. But the Communists have asked their followers to devote to the cause "the whole of their lives." We assuredly do not. For if you were required to make everything else subordinate, and give to The John Birch Society the whole of your lives, we might as well let the Communists take over in the first place. That is exactly the kind of collectivism, of submerging the individual in the whole, against which we are fighting. And while there will be some of us, an increasing number, but still a small minority, who will actually be giving practically the whole of our lives to this cause, we neither ask nor expect so much from the vast majority of our members. Our very goal is to save an americanist system and a civilization in which a person's individual purposes, needs, and desires, and those of his family, are given first consideration.

But on the other hand, let me point out and emphasize that we are expecting far more work and dedication, and far more sacrifice of other interests, on the part of those who do become members of The John Birch Society, than you ever thought of giving to any other organization which you joined or even considered joining. For unless we have the cumulative weight and effect of such solid effort and sacrifice on the part of our members, as a weapon to be wielded against the Communists, we are certainly not going

to be able to hold onto even the increasingly confused, dark, and immoral world we now have, much less help to build a better one.

And of course, from this particular group, we are looking for real money as well as earnest effort. We hope to have thirty thousand dedicated members by the end of 1959.[27] It will be a major accomplishment if we do. But it will certainly take all of the dues money as a general rule, from those members, just for the organizational expense of recruiting them, supervising their activities, and making them effective. For money with which to work on most of the projects I outlined yesterday afternoon we have to look for larger sums from other sources than dues.

For that purpose we want to raise a million dollars of such "outside" funds during the year.[28] It will not be easy, and even that amount is an awfully small drop in the bucket, against what either the direct Communist propagandists or the Reutherite labor bosses are spending against us. But I believe we can get it; and I believe we can make even that much do wonders in adding new courage and new confidence to the anti-Communist fight. There are bound to be some mistakes and some waste in something so much like a crash program, but we shall do our utmost by clear thinking and careful planning to keep those mistakes and that waste to an absolute minimum, and to make every dollar count.

I expect to be conducting, in person, one top-level two-day meeting like this per month. We shall soon have tape recordings of this whole presentation, which our Coordinators can play for small groups wherever they may be assembled for that purpose. We shall encourage proselyting at all levels, for new members of both our local chapters and our Home Chapter. And we must gain both moral and financial support steadily, or we shall not be in position to do the things that have to be done, as fast as we need to do them. For, as I have said, we are not kidding, or just talk-

ing, and we do mean business every step of the way.

As I see it, I am afraid you have just two alternatives. Either you, and tens of thousands like you, come into The John Birch Society and, without giving it the whole of your lives, still devote to its purposes the best and most you can offer, with money and head and heart as well as hands; or in a very few years you will, by force, be devoting *all* to the maintenance of a Communist slave state. So we are asking for a lot, and we want you to know it, if and when you sign an application blank for membership in The John Birch Society.

That brings us next to a consideration as to the very nature of our undertaking which needs to be made clear. For all revolutions, as Metternich once pointed out, begin in the best minds and work downward. While most religions begin at the bottom, with the masses, and gradually acquire both respectability and acceptance at the top. We are neither, and both.

Far from founding a religion, we are merely urging Protestants, Catholics, Jews or Moslems to be better Christians, better Jews, or better Moslems, in accordance with the deepest and most humanitarian promptings of their own religious beliefs. And we are simply trying to draw a circle of faith in God's power and purpose, and of man's relationship to both, which is broad and inclusive enough to take each man's specific faith into that circle without violation. Yet the evangelical fervor, with which we expect our members to fight the forces of evil and work for a better world, makes certain principles with regard to religious groups apply to ourselves.

We are not beginning any revolution, nor even a counter-revolution, in any technical sense; because, while we are opposing a conspiracy, we are not ourselves making use of conspiratorial methods. Yet our determination to overthrow an entrenched tyranny is the very stuff out of which revolutions are made.

The net result of these reflections is that we are not a copy of any movement of the past. We are unique. We are ourselves. We are something new, as befits a moving force for a new age. We believe in profiting by all human experience, but we shall make our own amalgam of the organizational metals forged by their experience with the mercury of our own purpose. Without donning sackcloth and ashes we shall try to inspire saintly men to join our efforts to make this a better world; and without building barricades in the streets we shall still try to rally rational men to our efforts to preserve the best of the world we already have.

And now, Gentlemen, I am nearing the end of the semi-formal part of this long undertaking. I have tried to establish fundamental and permanent objectives, much broader than the fight against the Communist conspiracy, because I am convinced that these ultimate long-range objectives are more important than the defeat of the Communist conspiracy. But also because I am utterly convinced that we cannot stop the Communists unless our efforts are a part of such a broader and more constructive purpose.

Yet, it is the threat of the Communist conspiracy that brought us here. Stopping the Communists, and destroying their conspiracy, or at least breaking its grip on our government and shattering its power within the United States, not only must occupy the front spot and most important spot in all of our thinking. It is the driving danger which should determine our thinking about almost everything else, and most of our actions too, for the foreseeable future. For unless we can win that battle, the war for a better world will again be carried on through long and feudal Dark Ages, after we have been killed, our children have been enslaved, and all that we value has been destroyed. That is not rhetoric, and it is not exaggeration. It is a plain statement of the stark danger that is rapidly closing in on us right now.

It is the imminence and horror of this danger which

drives me to so desperate a course as to offer myself as a personal leader in this fight, and to ask you to follow that leadership. It is not because I want so frightening a responsibility. And it is certainly not because I think that you gentlemen, as good friends of mine as most of you are, recognize any such qualities of leadership in me as would make me a happy choice for the role. It's just that I don't know where you, or all of us, are going to find anybody else to undertake the job. And because I know in my own mind, beyond all doubt or question, that without dynamic *personal* leadership around which the split and frustrated and confused forces on our side can be rallied, rapidly and firmly, we do not have a chance of stopping the Communists before they have taken over our country. It is not that you would choose me, or that I would even choose me, against other possibilities. It is simply that, under the pressure of time and the exigencies of our need, you have no other choice, and neither do I.

As to what is expected of you, in either effort or money, if you are thinking of half-way measures we might as well quit now. But I might as well also reveal my fanaticism by telling you that there is no force and no discouragement which could make me quit or even put less of my life and energy into the struggle. If every man in this room should decide, for whatever reason, that he wants no part of my proposals, I would simply go back to small groups of plain citizens in Massachusetts, and myself start organizing local chapters of The John Birch Society at the working levels. I would be greatly saddened, because of my feeling that, without all of the most powerful help that can possibly be mustered on our side, in short order and effectively, our chances would be so small. But my determination would not even be affected. The last resort of my own mind has been expressed by Louise Imogene Guiney:

To fear not sensible failure
Nor covet the game at all,
But fighting, fighting, fighting
Die, driven against the wall.

I repeat, however, that we do not *have* to die driven against any wall, nor do we *have* to lose this struggle at all. As I have said elsewhere, there is enough strength, enough money, enough intelligence, and enough patriotism in the vast business community of America, to form the nucleus that will stop, and destroy, the Communist conspiracy—if we can stir it to action in time. What I am proposing here is the mechanics, and the leadership through men like yourselves, by which it can be stirred to action and that action made effective.

In 1927 some of the Communists, after years of work and infiltration by Borodin, Galen, Earl Browder, and other agents, thought they were ready to take over China. Taking advantage of all the splits and confusion in the Kuomintang which they had caused, and of Chiang Kai-shek's problems with his Northern Expedition for the unification of China, the Communists caused a massacre of foreigners by troops he had left behind him, set up their version of a central government in Hankow, and were ready to seize control.

Among other measures which Chiang took was to go to the merchants of Shanghai for help. And remember, Chiang Kai-shek was, in their minds, associated with Canton and the government in the South, with which they were not yet even in sympathy. But he was able to convince the merchants of Shanghai of exactly what the Communists intended, and that this was a matter of life and death against a ruthless enemy who stopped at nothing. The merchants of Shanghai raised the equivalent of three million dollars of American money, and turned it over to Chiang with no strings attached.

With that money, with the ability it gave him to feed his

soldiers and send his civilian agents into other provinces of China to explain his aims, and with other steps it enabled him to take, Chiang was able to throw the Communists out of Hankow, send rats like Borodin, Galen, and Browder scurrying back to their homelands, and save China from the Communists for twenty more years. But for the overwhelming forces *from the outside* which our government then helped to turn loose on him, Chiang would have been able to keep China free from the Communists to this day. But he gained twenty years respite as it was.

Now, Gentlemen, just stop and think how much money three million American dollars was to the merchants of one Chinese city in 1927. Then tell me that, if the American business community or the American people had that kind of determination and were willing to make that kind of sacrifice, to preserve their freedom and their inheritance, they couldn't stop the Communists. It would be nonsense. A part of our job is not only to have that kind of determination and make that kind of sacrifice ourselves, but to convince others of the necessity of doing so.

As one man in this room said to me a few months ago, it is better to spend a quarter or even half of all we own, and save our lives and the remainder of our possessions, than to lose lives and total possessions by fighting with too little and too late. I not only agree. I have acted on that principle in my small way. Not only has it seemed to me better to spend the money I had saved, in waking up a few more of my fellow citizens to the danger; but I am far more comfortable working sixteen hours a day, seven days per week, on the same problem and without pay, then I would be in a concentration camp behind an electrified barbed-wire fence. And while I am not actually suggesting quite so drastic a level of work or sacrifice for anybody else at this time, I do want to repeat that we are not going to be saved from concentration camps by those who plan to do the saving every Saturday morning before lunch, or

by financial backing of the same order to the anti-Communist forces. And I also want to repeat, as we simply must convince more of our complacent friends, that the result of our failure in this fight most positively will be concentration camps, or worse, and soon.

Let me repeat just one thing that I said to you yesterday morning. There are in the satellite countries today thousands of men, just like you and me, who only ten years ago could regularly meet in such groups as I propose. Not only that, but they could go out openly, with and before larger groups, to try to spread the alarm and to stop the Communists from taking over their countries. These men now say to each other, but largely to themselves: "If I had only known. If I had only recognized and believed the danger, and the horror of Communist rule, in time. There is nothing I would not have given, to save my freedom, my family, my country, if I had only recognized the urgency and the desperate need. Now it is all too late, and any sacrifice, even of life itself, would be entirely in vain."

We do not have to be too late, and we do not have to lose the fight. Communism has its weaknesses, and the Communist conspiracy has its vulnerable points. We have many layers of strength not yet rotted by all of the infiltration and political sabotage to which we have been subjected. Our danger is both immense and imminent; but it is not beyond the possibility of being overcome by the resistance that is still available. All we must find and build and use, to win, is sufficient understanding. Let's create that understanding and build that resistance, with everything mortal men can put into the effort—while there still is time.

Then, while we are destroying and after we have destroyed the Communist tyranny, let's drive on towards our higher goals of more permanent accomplishment; towards an era of less government and more responsibility, in which we can create a better world.

Footnotes for the Fourth Printing

24. Our liberal critics would have you believe that this statement, for an American, is practically heresy. This is because these same liberals have been working so long and so hard to convert our republic into a democracy, and to make the American people believe that it is *supposed to be a democracy.* Nothing could be further from the truth than that insidiously planted premise. Our founding fathers knew a great deal about history and government, and they had very nearly a clean slate on which to write the blueprint for our own. They gave us a republic because they considered it the best of all forms of government. They visibly spurned a democracy as probably the worst of all forms of government. But our past history and our present danger indicate that they were right in both particulars.

25. The folly of the two-sides-to-every-question argument is emphasized in a brief story we have told elsewhere and often. The minister had preached a superb sermon. It had moved his whole congregation to a determination to lead nobler and more righteous lives. Then he said: "And that, of course, is the Lord's side. Now for the *next* half hour, and to be fair, I'll present the devil's side. You can then take your choice."

26. The whole theme of these several paragraphs, and the monolithic structure of the Society, have of course been seized on by the liberals (and worse) as the basis of vicious and persistent attacks against the Society and myself. Their criticism is about as slippery and phony as everything else the liberals turn out today under the label of argument.

Our members are told specifically and emphatically in our bulletins, about once every three months, never to carry out any of our requests or to do anything for the Society that is against their individual consciences or even contrary to their best judgment. If they find themselves too constantly and continuously in disagreement with our activities, then probably they do not belong in the Society and may wish to resign.

So far, with many thousands of members and two years of experience, we have dropped less than a dozen. (We have had a total of about one hundred resignations in the two years.) One of the two dropped directly by the Home Office was a lonesome widow who did not have the slightest interest in, or idea of, what The John Birch Society was all about. She simply wanted companionship and a place to go, and she constantly bogged down her chapter meeting with her personal affairs. The other turned out not even to be a member. But he had been going regularly to the meetings of one of our chapters, posing as an important member of our Home Chapter, and turning the meetings more and more—before we knew about it—into sessions of advanced anti-Semitism. We simply asked this man to stay away from our meetings, straightened out the chapter, and have had no further trouble from that source.

We have refused to accept just one chapter since the Society was founded, and this was because of the extreme racist views of some of its prospective members. How little we go along with such views is shown by the fact that we have two all-Negro chapters, of which we are very proud, and several chapters in northern states with good citizens of both white and colored races who meet together. We are bitterly opposed to *forced* integration, in schools or *anywhere else*, but on far sounder grounds than the "racial superiority" arguments. It is because, according to the Constitution, the federal government has absolutely nothing to do, legally, with public education; because every American, white or black, should have the right to select his own associates for every enterprise and occasion; and because all of the trouble over integration—which is doing inestimable damage to both the black and white races—is Communist inspired, encouraged, and implemented for Communist purposes. And while these remarks may appear to be of a rambling nature, it seems well worthwhile to get them down on paper at this point to avoid misunderstandings in the future.

When we were viciously attacked in one of the midwestern papers a few months ago, on the basis of the monolithic structure of the Society, our members came to our support with a veritable flood of letters to that paper, quoting passage after passage from the Blue Book to show how unfounded were the charges advanced. Our members themselves are fully aware, from actual experience as well as from study of our materials, that the monolithic structure is purely for the sake of *efficiency, effectiveness,* and *steadfastness* of purpose within the Society itself—from which anybody can resign, with our good will and good wishes, at the drop of a hat. Our members themselves soon find that there is absolutely no reason to object to this protection of the Society internally against infiltration, splintering, and inside fights.

And yet our critics frequently and vehemently charge that we are a *fascist* organization, far more dangerous and tyrannical than the Communists themselves. We don't know how they attempt to justify any such charges, but in any event we should like to call to their attention *one* difference between the Communists and ourselves. You join the Communist Party, and you are told what to do. You refuse to do it enough times, and you are shot in some dark alley or pushed off a subway platform in front of a moving train. You join The John Birch Society, and you are asked to do certain things, *if you agree.* You refuse to do them enough times—and we give you your money back! Somehow it does seem to us that there is a difference.

27. & 28. Of course as most of our members know, we did not get anywhere near either of these goals by the end of 1959. Our growth in *numbers*, with the dedication we require, has been far slower than we originally expected. Our growth in strength, especially in proportion to our numbers, has been far above our most hopeful anticipations. Our growth in resources has been in between the two extremes. And in all three categories, of course, our growth has just begun.

Postscript for the Fifth Printing

March 15, 1961

This edition of the Blue Book differs from the fourth only in the addition of this postscript, as a substitute for the postscript dated September 1, 1959 which has been carried in all previous editions.

It is perhaps in order for us to point out that we now have a staff of twenty-eight people in the Home Office; about thirty Coordinators (or Major Coordinators) in the field, who are fully paid as to salary and expenses; and about one hundred Coordinators (or Section Leaders as they are called in some areas), who work on a volunteer basis as to all or a part of their salary, or expenses, or both. Neither our organization, nor the membership which it serves, is anywhere near the size we hoped to have by now, when the Society was founded twenty-eight months ago. But starting absolutely from scratch, in the building of a union of human beings and a unified force of human effort that are, in many respects, different from all previous organizational patterns, we have made progress that is still remarkable and encouraging. And we are very grateful for all of the help and support which have made that progress possible.

At the present time we are under heavy fire from many sources. This was to have been expected, and we believe it to have been inevitable, regardless of whatever excuses we may have given the total liberal establishment for its attacks. The inevitability not only derives from the simple fact of our growth, and the obvious potential danger to the Communists from that growth, but also from the visibly increasing effectiveness of some of our specific activities.

Over the past few months, for instance, members of The John Birch Society have been responsible for thousands of showings of the film of the San Francisco student riots, called *Operation Abolition.* That film, put together by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, is a deadly revelation of the Communists openly at work, right here in America, with the same ruthless tactics through which they have paralyzed their opposition in other countries they have taken over.

During the past few months members of The John Birch Society have also been responsible for probably tens of thousands of showings of *Communism on the Map.* This is a film strip depicting the steady geographical advance of Communism over the earth during the past four decades, and especially during the last fifteen years. It was created by an ardent member of The John Birch Society, drawing upon at least some of our materials. And during the past two months the Communists have found that our Movement to Impeach Earl Warren, begun in January, is by no means to be laughed off as their liberal allies and dupes at first expected, but is gathering strength and significance every month. It is the combination of these impacts, plus the basic threat from our very existence and our continued growth, which have caused somebody to push the button unleashing all of these extensive and vicious campaigns against us, almost simultaneously, in many different parts of the country.

Possibly to the amazement of the Communists, and perhaps of the whole liberal establishment, our growth has continued right through all of these attacks and visibly will continue. The John Birch Society has the indestructible strength and the gathering momentum of an idea whose hour has come. But while this may disturb or even frighten the Communists, it does not give us any corresponding satisfaction from an assurance of inevitable victory. For *we* must be vitally concerned with the question of *how soon*

the Communist conspiracy can be destroyed. How long will it be—how many more hundreds of millions must be enslaved and how much of our civilization must be destroyed —before we can emerge triumphant, and see our world again turning to a restoration and improvement of our whole material, political, and spiritual inheritance? It is the time that will be required, the suffering that can be avoided, and the destruction that can be prevented, which will measure the success of our great undertaking.

All we have really done so far is demonstrate rather convincingly that we have the formula for ultimate success. And it is a very simple formula indeed, as must be the basic plan of every movement that changes the course of history. We must grow into an army of sufficient size, fighting with facts and truth as our weapons, until the enemy with all his ruthless cunning, gigantic organization, limitless resources, and entrenched power, still cannot withstand the total impact of our unified strength and dedicated labors. For absolutely certain and early victory we need one hundred times the number of Coordinators, the members, and the total organization we now have. It is not necessary to change one iota the formula which has brought us this far, but simply to project its operation and its results into a scale to match our needs. This achievement, especially if within the time still left us before destruction and darkness would make a whole new start necessary, will require colossal amounts of money and of labor. But both are cheaper than blood, and far smaller sacrifices than freedom. We ask for your help—in realistic proportion to the size of the job ahead.

Postscript for the Second Printing

December 9, 1959

During the four years that *American Opinion* has been published there has never appeared a picture of, nor even a personal word about, myself. Nor has there been any such word in any material issued by or for The John Birch Society. This is simply because of my distaste for anything in the nature of personal publicity.

The pressure from Chapter Leaders, members, and prospective members of the Society, however, has increased to the point of convincing me that the demand for more information about the Founder of the Society is well justified, and even that it is unfair for me not to give at least a skeletonized biography to those who are willing to follow my leadership. Still reluctantly, therefore, but because these considerations must prevail, I am inserting in this second printing of the Blue Book a copy of the page of biographical notes which my secretary is currently sending to program chairmen of organizations before which I am able to appear as a speaker.

Even though this sketch is, at some points, slightly on the flippant side—to avoid any appearance of pomposity or stuffed-shirtism, which I detest—it is my hope that these few paragraphs will seem adequate in substance and sufficiently dignified in treatment to serve entirely satisfactorily the purpose for which they are offered.

Robert Welch

Born December 1, 1899, on a farm in Chowan County, North Carolina. Ancestry, full of farmers and Baptist preachers, traceable to one Miles Welch who came to this country from Wales in 1720. Educated at University of North Carolina (four years), United States Naval Academy (two years), Harvard Law School (two years), and school of hard knocks (about forty years). Came to Boston from North Carolina in 1919. Has lived in Belmont for the past twenty years. Has one wife, two sons, a Golden Retriever dog, and fourteen golf clubs—none of which he understands, but all of which he loves.

Has spent a great part of his life getting from where he was to where he wasn't, for reasons which seemed worthwhile at the time. This includes two trips to England specifically to study the effects of the Socialist government; one trip around the world; and fairly extensive additional traveling in North America, South America, Europe, and Asia.

Author of *The Road to Salesmanship*, published in 1941 by the Ronald Press Company; of *May God Forgive Us*, published in 1952 by Henry Regnery Company; and of *The Life of John Birch*, published in 1954 by Henry Regnery Company. Is editor and publisher of *American Opinion*, a monthly magazine which reviews current events and appraises contemporary leaders on the world-wide stage. Has done much public speaking, and will climb on a soapbox to argue against the evils of socialism whenever anybody will listen.

Has been in the candy manufacturing business all of his adult life. Was for many years vice president, in charge of sales and advertising, of one of the larger candy manufacturing companies, with factories on both coasts, and of its subsidiary sales corporations in various cities throughout the country. Is a director of one bank, and has served as a director of several other business corporations.

Was a member of the board of directors of the National Association of Manufacturers for seven years. Also served three years as a regional vice president of NAM, and two years as chairman of its Educational Advisory Committee. Has been active in many other business associations and committees, and in many community and educational activities—including service on the Belmont School Committee.

As of January 1, 1957, Mr. Welch gave up most of his business responsibilities – and most of his income – in order to devote practically all of his time and energy to the anti-Communist cause. Believes that the only thing the Communists now fear is having the truth become widely known, to the American people, about the methods and the progress of the whole international Communist conspiracy. For his readers or his listeners, Mr. Welch simply puts together clear but separate facts about the Communist advance, so that their significance becomes more apparent. Through this method he is trying to wake up as many of his fellow citizens as he can, to the horror and the imminence of the dangers which they face.

The Council

of

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

Each of the men listed below, who make up our COUNCIL, came into the Society solely as an individual, representing in no way any other group or organization. But simply for identification, we have given against each name the briefest line or two concerning other connections, or past accomplishments.

N. E. Adamson, Jr., M.D. A Boston surgeon. Associate Medical Director of New England Mutual Life Insurance Company. Also, a Captain in the U. S. Naval Reserve Medical Corps. Fellow, American College of Surgeons.

Mr. S. J. Agnew. Owner of the Agnew timber and plywood interests in Washington, Oregon, and California, and of the T90 ranches in Washington. Worthy son of a famous "free enterpriser" in the Northwest lumber industry.

Mr. Thomas J. Anderson. Editor and publisher of numerous agricultural magazines, and of the newspaper syndicate, American Way Features, Inc. Nationally known as a speaker, and as author of *Straight Talk* editorials.

Mr. A. Clifford Barker. Chief Scientist and Executive Vice President of the International Engineering Company, and President of The Dominion Development Corporation, of Washington, D.C.

Mr. Carlton Beal. Well known and highly successful Texas businessman. A member of the American Petroleum Institute. Has published several important papers on subjects in his field of mining and metallurgical engineering.

Mr. Frank Cullen Brophy. Former President, Libbey Fruit Packing Company, and other business enterprises. Director, official, and board chairman of several Arizona banks. One of the original founders of *Commonweal* magazine.

Mr. John T. Brown. Vice President of the Falk Corporation, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Former President of the J. I. Case Company. Many years on board of directors, National Association of Manufacturers. A leading American exponent of orthodox economics.

Mr. Robert Buffington. Successful Iowa farmer and cattleman. Chairman of the national Cattle Industry Committee for Legislative Action. Has a firsthand knowledge of South American affairs from extensive work and travel on that continent.

Col. Laurence E. Bunker. Boston lawyer and trustee. Permanent Chairman of the annual New England Rally. Former personal aide to General Douglas MacArthur for six and a half years—during the Japanese occupation, the Korean War, and MacArthur's early months in this country after his return.

Mr. F. Gano Chance. President, A. B. Chance Company, Centralia, Missouri. Former President of Missouri State Chamber of Commerce and of Associated Industries of Missouri. Has been the target of many vicious attacks from the Left.

Mr. S. J. Conner. President, Modern Sleep Products Company, Marshfield, Wisconsin. A man who never lets up in his loyalty and service to The John Birch Society, which he joined as a Life Member in the early months of 1959.

Mr. Ralph E. Davis. Former President of General Plant Protection Corporation and affiliated companies, Los Angeles. A former Marine, an enthusiastic Rotarian, an avid golfer, and an outstanding patriot.

Rev. Francis E. Fenton. Pastor of the Blessed Sacrament Church, Bridgeport, Connecticut. Father Fenton received his Master's degree in philosophy, and also his S. T. L. degree in theology, from the Catholic University of America.

Mr. Wm. J. Grede. Chairman of the Board, Grede Foundries, Inc., Milwaukee, with plants in nine midwestern cities. Also, a former President and Chairman of the Board of the J. I. Case Company. Former President and Chairman of the National Association of Manufacturers; former President of the National Council of Y.M.C.A.'s, and General Chairman of the Building Committee of the International Committee of Y.M.C.A.'s. Is Chairman of the Executive Committee of The John Birch Society.

Mr. A. G. Heinsohn, Jr. President, Cherokee Textile Mills, Sevierville, Tennessee and Spindale Mills, Spindale, North Carolina. Author

of *One Man's Fight For Freedom* and *Anthology of Conservative Writings in the United States 1932–1960.*

Dean Clarence E. Manion. Former Dean of Notre Dame Law School. Member of an outstanding law firm in South Bend, Indiana. For the past twelve years has directed *The Manion Forum,* a weekly radio and television program with a network of two hundred stations. Author of *The Key To Peace* and several other excellent books.

Lawrence P. McDonald, M.D. In private practice at the McDonald Urological Clinic in Atlanta. Youngest member of the COUNCIL. Is a Lt. Commander in the United States Naval Reserve. Is a member of many medical societies, as well as numerous civic and patriotic clubs and associations.

Mr. N. Floyd McGowin. Formerly President, W. T. Smith Lumber Company, Chapman, Alabama. Formerly President of the National Lumber Manufacturers Association; also, Regional Vice President of the National Association of Manufacturers; and has been active on the boards of several other national organizations and enterprises.

Mr. Wm. B. McMillan. Former President, then Chairman of the Board, of Hussmann Refrigerator Company, St. Louis. Is also on the boards of directors of U. S. Gypsum Company, A. P. Green Refractories, Studebaker Corporation, Pet Incorporated, Mercantile Trust Company, and American Investment Company. Has served as Regional Vice President of the National Association of Manufacturers, as President of the St. Louis Council of Boy Scouts, and in many other positions of civic and business leadership.

Mr. Robert H. Montgomery. Noted Constitutional authority. Senior partner of law firm of Powers, Hall, Montgomery and Weston, of Boston, Massachusetts. On board of directors of, and General Counsel to, many philanthropic, educational, and industrial organizations. Author of *Sacco-Vanzetti: The Murder and the Myth.*

Thomas Parker, M.D. General practitioner, Greenville, South Carolina. Past President of the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons. Because of his many public-spirited activities he is one of South Carolina's leading citizens, without ever holding or seeking any public office.

Mr. Floyd Paxton. President, Kwik-Lok Corporation, Yakima, Washington, with other plants in the United States and Canada. He designed the very sophisticated and efficient machinery for his own pro-

duction lines. And as a part of his constant crusading for the American free enterprise system, he publishes a fiery weekly newspaper, *The Yakima Eagle*.

Mr. Louis Ruthenburg. Formerly President, then Chairman, of Servel, Inc., of Evansville, Indiana. Former President of Indiana State Chamber of Commerce. Has received several honorary degrees and three Freedom Foundation awards.

Mr. J. Nelson Shepherd. Former President, Midwest-Beach Company, Sioux Falls, South Dakota. Has served on the board of the National Association of Manufacturers. Is an outstanding citizen and strong supporter of many patriotic causes.

Mr. Robert W. Stoddard. President of Wyman-Gordon Company, Worcester, Massachusetts, with additional plants in Illinois, California, and Bombay, India. Has served two terms as President of Associated Industries of Massachusetts. Is on the board of directors of two banks, of several of New England's largest industries, and of many educational and philanthropic institutions.

Lt. General Charles B. Stone, III, USAF (Retired). Succeeded General Claire Chennault as Commander of our Fourteenth Air Force, in China, and is lifetime Honorary Chairman of the Fourteenth Air Force Association. Is now a business executive in southern California.

The basic function of the Council is threefold: (1) To show the stature and standing of the leadership of the Society; (2) to give your Founder the benefit of the Council's advice and guidance, both in procedural or organizational matters, and in substantive matters of policy; and (3) to select, with absolute and final authority, a successor to myself as head of The John Birch Society, if and when an accident, "suicide," or anything sufficiently fatal is arranged for me by the Communists—or I simply die in bed of old age and a cantankerous disposition. And we believe that both the growth and the effectiveness of the Society will be greatly helped by the experience, ability, and resolute purpose of so strong a governing body.—RW

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Actually we must choose between the civilization, the form of society, and the expression of human life, as represented by John Birch, and their parallels as envisioned by Karl Marx and his spiritual successors. There is no middle ground, at least for the foreseeable future; not because no middle ground is philosophically possible, nor because intelligent and humane beings could not prefer some middle ground, but because the Communists will not permit it.

* * *

With his death and in his death the battle lines were drawn, in a struggle from which either Communism or Christian-style civilization must emerge with one completely triumphant and the other completely destroyed.

The Life of John Birch

Application for Membership

_____, 19___

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY
Belmont, Massachusetts 02178

GENTLEMEN:

This is my application for membership in the _____ Chapter of THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY, for one year from this date, and for automatic renewal each year thereafter, unless I resign in writing. I understand the dues schedule printed on the back of this sheet, as applicable to myself.

If my application is accepted, I agree that my membership may be revoked at any time, by a duly appointed officer of the Society, without the reason being stated, on refund of the pro rata part of my dues paid in advance.

Sincerely,

(Name)_____

(Address)_____

_____

Date_____ Application Approved By_____

Dues Received_____ Title_____

(To use this application, simply cut out this page.)

Dues Schedule

Life membership in the Home Chapter, (which automatically covers membership in any local chapter), for men or women $1,000.00

(This may be paid in two consecutive annual installments of $500.00 each.)

Regular annual membership in the Home Chapter:	For men	$24.00
	For women	$12.00
Membership in a local chapter, minimum per year:	For men	$24.00
	For women	$12.00

(This may be paid at $2.00 per month for men, and $1.00 per month for women, to the local Chapter Leader.)

If any member wishes to pay larger dues, to support the Society's work (or to make contributions for that purpose), such dues or contributions may also be split into monthly installments if desired.

(Applications for membership in local chapters should be approved by the Chapter Leader. Applications for membership in the Home Chapter will be approved by the Home Office.)

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